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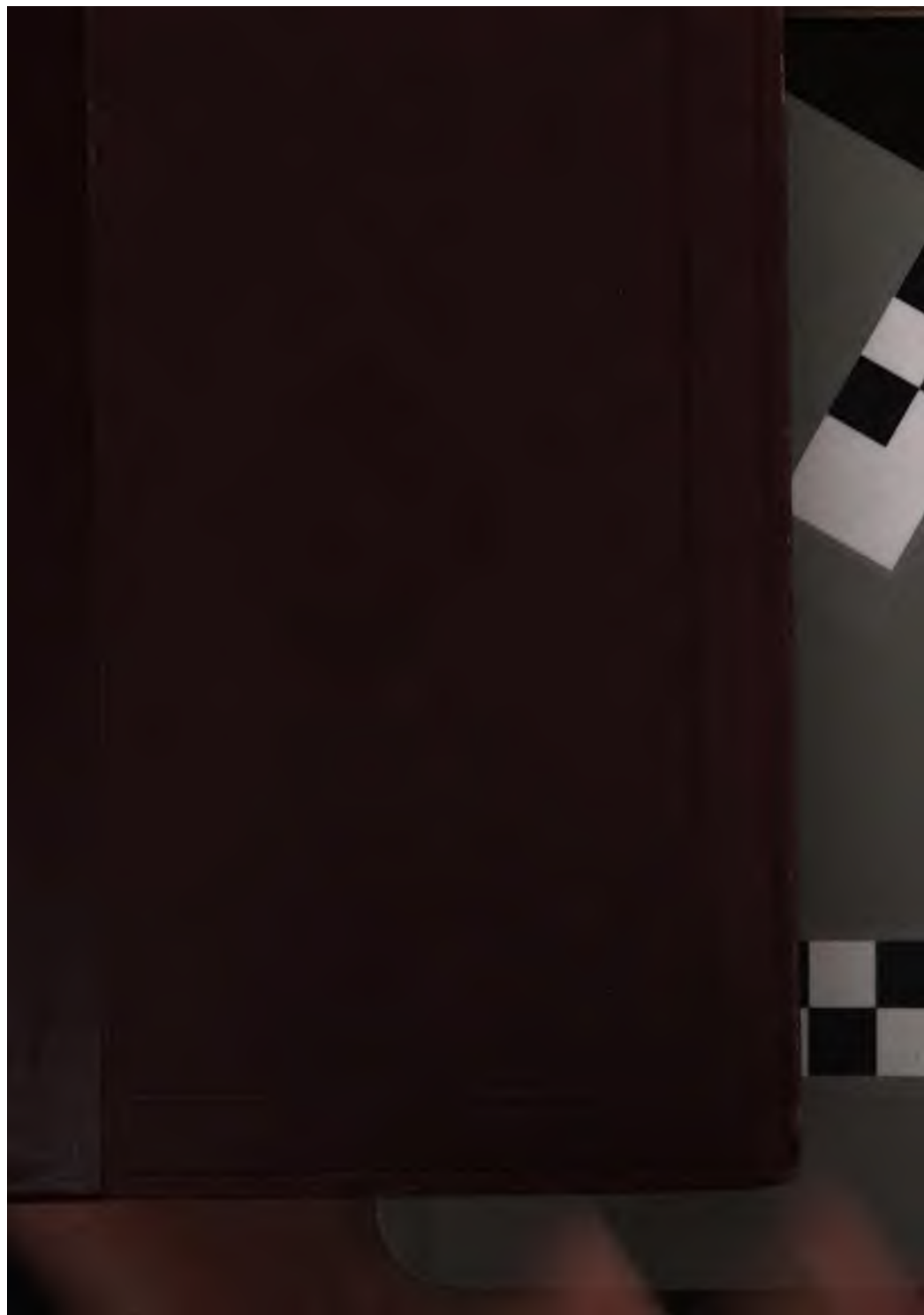
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**ARISTOTLE**  
**AND THE EARLIER PERIPATETICS**  
**VOL. I.**

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ARISTOTLE  
AND  
THE EARLIER PERIPATETICS

*BEING A TRANSLATION FROM  
ZELLER'S 'PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEKS'*

BY  
B. F. C. COSTELLOE, M.A.  
AND  
J. H. MUIRHEAD, M.A.

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TO  
THE MASTER OF BALLIOL



## TRANSLATORS' NOTE.

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THE following translation embraces Part II. Div. II. of the third edition of Dr. Eduard Zeller's work on 'The Philosophy of the Greeks in its Historical Development.' It is made with Dr. Zeller's sanction, and completes the series of volumes issued from time to time by Messrs. Longmans as translations of the various sections of that exhaustive work. Mr. Costelloe is chiefly responsible for the translation of text and notes up to the middle of Chapter VII., and for Chapter XIX. to the end; Mr. Muirhead for the middle portion. In most instances, however, both translators have revised the sheets. In calling attention to the table of *Corrigenda*, which is longer than might reasonably be expected in a work of this kind, the editors desire to explain that, owing to an accident for which the translator was not responsible, the sheets of that portion of the text in which the greater part of them occur

were passed through the press before he had seen them in proof. In dealing with some parts of Zeller's notes a certain liberty has been taken with the German text with a view to condensing the material where this could be done without impairing its value. The treatise is believed to be the only work accessible to English readers which is a complete and accurate exposition of the Aristotelian doctrine. The student will find ample guidance as to Dr. Zeller's plan in the Table of Contents, which is in fact an index of subject matters ; and the arrangement adopted by Dr. Zeller is so logical and clear that it has not been considered necessary to burden the translation with an exhaustive verbal index.



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## *Addenda and Corrigenda.*

- Page 74, n. 2. Zeller adds in a later note that Diog. No. 78 gives the *Rhetoric* only 2 books, but this is not decisive.
- „ 129, l. 22. Zeller adds in a later note, that many of these may be in great part explained by the supposition that Aristotle did not always *write*, but *dictated* his books.
- „ 178, n. 2, *for* Braniss *read* Brandis
- „ 188, n. 1, col. 1, l. 12, *for* representation *read* opinion
- „ 203, n. 2, l. 4, *insert* 199, n. 2
- „ 210, n. 2, col. 1, l. 18, *delete of*
- „ 224, n. col. 1, ll. 11, 12, *for a and an read* the same
- „ 232, 233, *for* individual [judgments] *read* singular
- „ 235, n. col. 2, l. 30, *for* apodeictic *read* assertorial
- „ 249, n. 3, col. 2, l. 5, *for* there *read* these
- „ 257, n. 1, add a further reference to *De Caelo*, l. 10 *init.*
- „ 288, n. 1, col. 2, ll. 18, 21, *for* equality *read* identity
- „ 302, n. 3, col. 2, l. 3, *for* corresponds with *read* assimilates to itself
- „ 335, n. 1, l. 4, *for* general *read* universal
- „ 348, n. col. 2, l. 15 from bottom, *after* possibility *insert comma*
- „ 361, n. col. 1, l. 16, *omit semicolon*
- „ 364, l. 8. Zeller in a later note refers to the criticism of TORSTRIK (*Hermes*, ix. 1875, p. 425), and suggests that the word 'disturbance' might be replaced by 'modification.'
- „ 390, n. 3, col. 1, l. 17, *for* Fr. 13 *read* Fr. 12
- „ 395, n. col. 1, l. 9, *after* (the ἀίσιον) *add* that it should be capable of ceasing to be
- „ 400, n. 1, col. 2, l. 11, *omit* not
- „ „ „ l. 33, *after* word *read* is
- „ 404, l. 23, *for* object of thought *read* intelligible
- „ 405, n. 3, col. 1, l. 12, *for* do *read* are
- „ 407, n. 2, col. 2, l. 18, *for* motion *read* moved
- „ 412, n. col. 1, l. 5, *after* κινούν *add* absolutely
- „ 415, l. 16, *for* forces *read* Form
- „ 417, l. 9, *for* bodies and masses . . . related to them *read* not only bodies and magnitudes but everything which possesses them or is related to them
- „ 427, n. 3, col. 2, l. 8, *for* masses *read* magnitudes
- „ 428, l. 28, *for* after *read* behind
- „ 441, n. 2, col. 1, l. 8, *for* forcible *read* forced
- „ 454, l. 11, *for* extension *read* extrusion
- „ 459, n. 5, col. 1, l. 17, *for* But *read* Again
- „ 473, n. 1, col. 1, l. 1, *after* ought *add* in the converse case
- „ „ „ l. 4, *after* does *add* not
- „ 481, n. 1, col. 2, l. 24, *for* oppositions *read* opposites.
- „ 497, n. 1, col. 2, l. 3, *for* one who stands . . . in front of him *read* in front of the propeller who stands in the line of the axis
- „ 504, l. 1, *for* One *read* The
- „ 510, l. 2, *for* has raised *read* surrounds

# ARISTOTLE

AND THE

## EARLIER PERIPATETICS

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### CHAPTER I

#### THE LIFE OF ARISTOTLE

THE lives and circumstances of the three great philosophers of Athens show a certain analogy to the character and scope of their work. As the Attic philosophy began by searching the inner nature of man and went on from this beginning to extend itself over the whole field of existence, so we find that the life of its great masters was at first confined in narrow limits, and gained, as time went on, a wider range. Socrates is not only a pure Athenian citizen, but a citizen who feels no desire to pass beyond the borders of his city. Plato is also an Athenian, but the love of knowledge takes him to foreign lands and he is connected by many personal interests with other cities. Aristotle owes to Athens his scientific training and his sphere of work; but he belongs by birth and origin to another part of Greece, he spends his youth and a considerable part of his manhood out of Athens, chiefly in the rising Macedonian kingdom; and even when he is in Athens, it is as a stranger, not bound up with the political life of the

city, and not hindered by any personal ties from giving to his philosophy that purely theoretic and impartial character which became its distinctive praise.<sup>1</sup>

The birth of Aristotle falls, according to the most probable reckoning, in the first year of the 99th Olympiad,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The old accounts of Aristotle's life now extant are (1) DIOGENES, v. 1-35 (far the most copious); (2) DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, *Epist. ad Ammæum*, i. 5, p. 727 sq.; (3) 'Ἀριστ. βίος καὶ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ, by the *Anonymus Menagii*; (4) another sketch of his life, known to us in three forms: (a) the *Bios* first printed in the Aldine ed. of *Arist. Opp.* 1496-98 (which is there ascribed to Philoponus, elsewhere to Ammonius, but belongs to neither), here cited as the *Pseudo-Ammonius* (or *Amm.*); (b) the Life published from the Codex Marcianus by Robbe in 1861, cited as *Vita Marciana* (or *V. Marc.*); (c) the Life cited as the *Latin Ammonius*, preserved in an ancient translation, which approaches more closely to the *Vita Marciana* than to the *Pseudo-Ammonius* itself; (5) 'Ἡσυχίου Μιλησίου περὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους; (6) SUIDAS, *sub voce* Ἀριστοτέλης. All of these, except (4b), are to be found in BUHLE, *Arist. Opp.* i. 1-79. Westermann's appendix to Cobet's *Diogenes*, and his *Vita Scriptorum* (at p. 397) also contain (3) and (4a); Robbe, *op. cit.* gives (4b) and (4c). ROSE (*Arist. Lib. Ord.* 245), before the publication of (4b), ascribed the archetype of (4) to the younger Olympiodorus—a guess which may be called possible but not proven. Of later commentaries, cf. BUHLE, *Arist. Opp.* i. 80-104; STAHR,

*Aristotelia* i. 1-188; BRANDIS, *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, i. pp. 48-65; GROTE'S *Arist.* (1872), i. 1-37, and GRANT'S *Arist.* (1877) pp. 1-29. Stahr discusses (p. 5 sqq.) the lost works of ancient writers which treated of Aristotle's life. We cannot be sure, as to any of the sources mentioned, what their basis or credibility may be. Rose's view that they one and all rest only on spurious texts and fanciful combinations (p. 115) is entirely unproved and improbable. Their value, however, beyond doubt differs widely; we can only test each statement by its inherent probability.

<sup>2</sup> According to APOLLODORUS *apud* DIOG. 9; no doubt on the basis of the statement (*ibid.* 10, DIONYS. and AMMON.) which may be accepted as the safest fixed point as to the date of Aristotle's life, that he died in the archonship of Philocles (Ol. 114, 3), about sixty-three years old (ἐτῶν τριῶν που καὶ ἐξήκοντα, or more exactly, as in Dionys., τρία πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη). Dionysius agrees, but erroneously talks of Demosthenes as three years younger than Aristotle, whereas he was born in the same year, or at most in the year before (in the beginning of Ol. 99, 1, or end of Ol. 98, 4); *vide* STAHR i. 30. Gellius' statement (*N. A.* xvii. 21, 25) that Aristotle was born in the seventh year after the freeing of Rome

B.C. 384.<sup>1</sup> Stagira, the city of his birth, was situated in that district of Thrace called Chalcidice,<sup>2</sup> which was at that date a thoroughly Hellenic country, with many flourishing cities, whose people were no doubt in full possession of all Greek culture.<sup>3</sup> His father Nicomachus

from the Gauls also agrees, since that event is referred to the year 364 A.U.C., or 390 B.C. So also the *V. Marc.* p. 3, and the *Ammon. Latin.* p. 12, assert that he was born under Diotrophes (Ol. 99, 1) and died sixty-three years old under Philocles. An otherwise unknown writer, EUMELUS (ap. DIOG. 6), asserts, on the other hand, that Aristotle lived to be seventy; but there is little reason to follow ROSE (p. 116) in preferring this account, since his next words, *πάν ἄκόντιον ἐτελεύτησεν*, sufficiently show his lack of trustworthiness. In fact, as the manner of Socrates' death is here transferred to Aristotle, so is his age also; possibly by reason of the spurious *Apologia* ascribed to Aristotle (v. p. 35, n. 3, *infra*) and its parallelism with the Platonic *Apologia* of Socrates. But apart from the probability of this explanation, Eumelus is completely displaced by the agreement of all the other testimony, including that of so careful a chronologist as Apollodorus. A reliable tradition as to the age of their founder must have existed in the Peripatetic School. How could all our witnesses, except this one unknown and badly-informed writer, have come to agree upon a false statement of it when the truth could have been easily ascertained?

<sup>1</sup> That he was born in the first half of the Olympiad, or

in 384 B.C., follows from the accounts as to his death above, and would also follow from our information as to his residence at Athens; if the figures are to be taken strictly (cf. p. 6, n. 3, *infra*). For if, at seventeen, he came to Athens and was with Plato for twenty years, he must have been thirty-seven years old at Plato's death; so that, if we put his exact age at 36½ and bring down Plato's death to the middle of 347 B.C., his birth would still fall in the latter half of 384 B.C. It is, however, also possible that his stay in Athens did not cover the full twenty years.

<sup>2</sup> So called because most of its cities were colonies of Chalcis in Eubœa. Stagira itself was originally colonised from Andros, but perhaps (cf. DIONYS. *ut supra*) received a later contribution of second founders from Chalcis. In 348 B.C., it was, with thirty-one other cities of that district, sacked by Philip, but was afterwards on Aristotle's intercession restored (v. p. 24, *infra*). Vide STAHR, 23, who discusses also the form of the name (*Στάγειρος*, or *Στάγειρα* as a neuter plural). We do not know whether Aristotle's family house (mentioned in his will, ap. DIOG. 14) was spared in the destruction of the town or was subsequently rebuilt.

<sup>3</sup> Bernays (*Dial. Arist.* ii. 55, 134) calls Aristotle a 'half Greek,' but Grote (i. 3) and

was the body-surgeon and friend of the Macedonian King Amyntas<sup>1</sup>; and it is natural to suppose that the father's profession—long hereditary in the family—must have influenced the mental character and education of the son, and that this early connection with the Macedonian Court prepared the way for the employment of Aristotle in the same Court at a later time. On neither of these points, however, have we any positive information. We may also assume that Nicomachus took his family with

Grant (p. 2) rightly maintain against him that a Greek family in a Greek colony in which only Greek was spoken, could keep their nationality perfectly pure. Aristotle was not an *Athenian*, and though Athens was his philosophical home, traces can yet be found in him of the fact that his political sense had its training elsewhere; but he was as truly a *Hellene* as Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Parmenides, Anaxagoras, Democritus, or the rest. The 'un-Greek' element which Bernays and W. von Humboldt (in his letter to Wolf, *Werke*, v. 125) find in Aristotle is doubtless to be connected not so much with the place of his birth as with the characteristics of his generation and his individual bent of mind. The full-born Athenian Socrates exhibits traits far more singular and seemingly un-Greek as compared with his own people and time than Aristotle, and if the typical writings of Aristotle appear un-Greek in comparison with Plato's, still, on the one hand, this is not true of his Dialogues, and, on the other hand, equally great divergencies are to be found between men

whose surroundings and training were so closely similar as those of Schelling and Hegel, or of Baur and Strauss.

<sup>1</sup> Vide DIOG. i. (quoting Hermippus), DIONYS., *Ps. Amm.*, V. *Marc.*, *Ammon. Latin.*, and SUIDAS. The family of Nicomachus, according to these authorities, traced its descent, as did so many medical families, to Asclepius. TZETZES, *Chil.* x. 727, xii. 638, gives no ground for doubting this. The three recensions of the Pseudo-Ammonius repeat this same statement as to the family of Aristotle's mother, Phaistis, but erroneously; for Diogenes tells us she was a Stagiritic by birth, and Dionysius says that she was a descendant of one of the colonists from Chalcis. This connection might account for the mention of a country house and garden at Chalcis in the testament (DIOG. 14). The statement in Suidas, *sub voce* Νικόμαχος, that a person of that name had written six books of *ἱατρικὰ* and one book of *φυσικὰ* refers, according to our text, not to the father of Aristotle (cf. BUHLE, 83, STAHR, 34), but to an ancestor of the same name; though no



him to reside near the king,<sup>1</sup> but we cannot tell how old Aristotle then was, or how long this state of things lasted, or what personal relations resulted from it. Equally little knowledge have we as to the early development of his mind, or the circumstances or method of his education.<sup>2</sup> The sole piece of information we have as to this section of his life is the remark of the Pseudo-Ammonius<sup>3</sup> that after the death of both his parents,<sup>4</sup> one Proxenus of Atarneus<sup>5</sup> took over his education, so that in later life the grateful pupil did the like service for Proxenus' son Nicanor, of whom he took charge while he was a child, and to whom he gave his own daughter in marriage. Notwithstanding the untrustworthy character of our informant,<sup>6</sup> the story seems to be true<sup>7</sup>;

doubt the story did refer originally to his father. The Anon. Menagii (with *V. Marc.* 1, and *Ammon. Lat.* 1) mentions a brother and sister of Aristotle.

<sup>1</sup> For Diog. 1, following Herippus, says expressly: *συνεβίω [Νικόμαχος] Ἀμύντα τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὶ ἱατροῦ καὶ φίλου χρεῖα*. He must therefore have taken up his residence in Pella and cannot have left his family in Stagira.

<sup>2</sup> Galen's statement (*Anatom. Administr.* ii. 1, vol. ii. 280 κ) that the Asclepiad families practised their sons *ἐκ παιδῶν* in reading, writing, and *ἀναγέμνειν*, does not help us much, as (apart from the question whether the information is fully credible) we do not know how old Aristotle was at his father's death. It is doubtful whether Galen meant human or animal anatomy; cf. p. 89, n. 1 *fin.*

<sup>3</sup> In all three recensions, p. 43

etc., cf. BUHLE, 1 sq. (lege *τροφῆς* for *φήμης*) 10 sq. ROBBE.

<sup>4</sup> In his will (DIOG. 16) Aristotle mentions his mother and orders a monument to be erected to her. Pliny (*H. Nat.* xxxv. 10, 106) mentions a picture of her which Aristotle had painted by Protogenes. There may have been many reasons why his father was not mentioned in the will.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently a relative who had emigrated to Stagira, for his son Nicanor is called *Σταγειρίτης* and *οικεῖος Ἀριστοτέλους* (SEXT. MATH. i. 258).

<sup>6</sup> What trust is to be placed in a writer who tells us, *inter alia*, that Aristotle was for three years a pupil of Socrates and that he afterwards accompanied Alexander to India? (*Ps. Ammon.* p. 44, 50, 48, *V. Marc.* 2, 5, *Ammon. Lat.* 11, 12, 14).

<sup>7</sup> Aristotle in his will (DIOG. 12) directs that Nicanor is to marry

## ARISTOTLE

but it throws no further light on that which necessarily interests us most, the history of Aristotle's intellectual growth.<sup>1</sup>

His entrance into the Platonic School<sup>2</sup> gives us our earliest reliable data on the subject. In his eighteenth year Aristotle came to Athens<sup>3</sup> and entered the circle of

his daughter when she is grown up; he charges him to take care of her and her brothers, *ὡς καὶ πατὴρ ὦν καὶ ἀδελφός*; he orders that the portraits of Nicanor, Proxenus, and Nicanor's mother, which he had projected, should be completed, and that if Nicanor completed his journey successfully (*c. infra*), a votive offering he had promised should be set up in Stagira. These arrangements prove that Nicanor was adopted by Aristotle, and that Aristotle owed special gratitude to Nicanor's mother as well as to Proxenus, apparently similar to that he owed his own mother, of whom a similar portrait is ordered. If we assume the truth of the story in the Pseudo-Ammonius it will most naturally explain the whole. Dionysius notes that Nicomachus was dead when Aristotle came to Plato. It might appear that, as Aristotle died at sixty-three, the son of his foster-parents would be too old to marry a daughter not then grown up; but this does not follow. If Aristotle was a child at his father's death, and Proxenus a young man, the latter would have left a son twenty or twenty-five years younger than Aristotle, and some ten years younger than Theophrastus (who died forty years after Aristotle). As was to marry the daughter of

Nicanor's death (DIOG. 13).—This Nicanor is probably the same Nicanor of Stagira whom Alexander sent from Asia to Greece to announce his consent to the return of the exiles at the Olympian games of 324 B.C. (DINARCH. *Adv. Demosth.* 81, 103, DIODOR. xviii. 8; cf. the pseudo-Aristotelian *Rhet. ad Alex.* i, 1421, a, 38, and GROTE, p. 14). And the vow in Aristotle's will probably relates to a journey to Alexander's headquarters where he had given an account of his mission and been detained on service in Asia. It is probably the same Nicanor who was governor of Cappadocia under Antipater (Arrian *apud* PHOT. *Cod.* 92, p. 72, a, 6) and who was made away with, in B.C. 318, by Cassander, for whom he had done good service on sea and land (DIODOR. xviii. 64 sq. 68, 72, 75). The dates agree exactly with what we know of Pythias, as to whom see p. 20, n. 3, *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> We know nothing of the age at which Aristotle came to Proxenus, nor of the manner or place of his education, for it was probably not at Atarneus (see above, p. 5, n. 5).

<sup>2</sup> A silly story in *Ps. Armm.* 44, i. Marc. 2, and *Ammon. Latin.* 11 relates that he was sent by the Delphic Oracle.

<sup>3</sup> APOLLONIDOR. *ap.* DIOG. 9: *παράβαλιν 3ῃ Πλάτωνι, καὶ δια-*

Plato's scholars,<sup>1</sup> to which he continued to belong for

τρίψαι παρ' αὐτῷ ἔκοσιν ἔτη, ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν συστάντα. This testimony seems to be the basis of the statements of Dionysius (p. 728) that he came to Athens in his eighteenth year, of Diogenes 6, that he came ἑπτακαίδεκῆτης, and of the three recensions of the Ammonius Life that he came ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν γενόμενος. We have also the chronology of Dionysius, who places his arrival in the archonship of Polyzelos (366-7 B.C. Ol. 103, 2), while the statement (*V. Marc.* 3, *Ammon. Lat.* 12) that he came in the archonship of Nausigenes (Ol. 103, 1) takes us to the middle of his seventeenth year instead of the completion of it. Eusebius in his *Chronicle* knows that he arrived at seventeen, but places the event erroneously in Ol. 104, 1.—The statement of Eumelus (*apud* DIOG. 6) that he was thirty years old when he met Plato is combined by Grote (p. 3 sq.) with the accounts of Epicurus and Timæus as to his dissolute youth (cf. *infra*), but without deciding between the two accounts. We have already seen how little credit attaches to Eumelus' account of Aristotle's age and manner of death (p. 2, n. 2); but the two statements are connected and fall together, for, as Aristotle composed an elegy and the Dialogue named *Eudemos* in memory of a fellow-student, Eudemos of Cyprus (p. 11, n. 4, *infra*), who went to Sicily with Dion in 357 B.C. and was killed there, it follows that Aristotle, if he were thirty when he came to Athens, would have been born several years before 384.—We do

not know, moreover, when Eumelus lived, or from whom he got his information. If, as is possible, he be Eumelus the Peripatetic, whose *Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας* is quoted by a scholiast to Æschines' *Timarch.* (ed. Bekker, *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1836, *Hist.-phil. Kl.* 230, § 39; cf. Rose, *Arist. Libr. Ord.* 113), he would belong to the Alexandrine, or possibly even the post-Alexandrine period. In no case, as above shown, can he merit our confidence. As to Epicurus and Timæus *vide* p. 9, n. 1, *infra*.—The *Vita Marciana* finds it necessary to refute the story that Aristotle came to Plato in his fortieth year. The *Latin Ammonius* reproduces this in a still more absurd form, to which he adapts other parts of his story; for he says that it was thought by many that Aristotle remained forty years with Plato. His translation 'xl annis immoratus est sub Platone' probably means that the text of the archetype was μ' ἔτη γεγονὼς ἦν ἐπὶ Πλάτῳ, or μ' ἐτῶν ὃν ἐνδιδέτριβεν, &c. If the latter be supposed, the mistake might well have arisen by the dropping out of ὃν in the translator's MS.

<sup>1</sup> Plato himself was probably at the moment absent on his second Sicilian journey (*vide* ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 32). Stahr (p. 43) suggests that the above-mentioned statement that he was three years with Socrates and after his death followed Plato (*Ps. Amm.* 44, 50, *V. Marc.* 2, *Ammon. Lat.* 11, 12, OLYMPIOD. in *Gorg.* 42) arose from a misunderstanding of this circumstance. The archetype may have contained the

dialectician accused Aristotle of ingratitude to his master.<sup>1</sup> Others accuse him of annoying Plato by his showy dress, his overbearing manner, and his jeering.<sup>2</sup> Others relate that even in Plato's lifetime he attacked his doctrines and set up a school of his own in opposition to the Platonic,<sup>3</sup> and even that on one occasion he took advantage of the absence of Xenocrates to drive the aged master from his accustomed place of resort in the Academia.<sup>4</sup> Many, even among the ancients, re-

Neither Aristocles nor any of the trustworthy witnesses mention medical practice, and the two who do, refer to it in such a way as only to raise suspicion; while Aristotle apparently reckons himself among the 'laymen,' *μη τεχνῖται*, in medicine (*Diriv.* 1, 463, a. 6).

<sup>1</sup> ARISTOTEL. *ap. EUS. Pr. Ev.* xv. 2, 3: *καὶ Εὐβουλίδης δὲ προδήλως ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ ψεύδεται . . . φάσκων . . . τελευτῶντι Πλάτῳ μὴ παραγενέσθαι τὰ τε βιβλία αὐτοῦ διαφθεῖραι.* Neither of the charges is important. His absence at the time of Plato's death, if that is true, may have had an easy explanation; Plato, indeed, is said to have died quite unexpectedly (cf. ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 35). The injury to Plato's books, if it means a falsification of the text, is an obvious and absurd calumny. If, as is possible, it refers to Aristotle's criticism of Plato, this, as we shall see, though it is keen and not always just, is no indication of any personal misunderstanding, since to Aristotle it meant only natural and impersonal polemics. Besides Aristocles, Diogenes (ii. 109) also rejects Eubulides' charges as a calumny.

<sup>2</sup> ÆLIAN, *V. H.* iii. 19, describing Aristotle's style of dress in detail.

<sup>3</sup> DIOG. 2: *ἀπέστη δὲ Πλάτωνος ἔτι περιόντος· ὥστε φησὶν ἐκείνον εἰπεῖν· Ἀριστοτέλης ἡμᾶς ἀπελάκτισε καθάπερ εἰ τὰ πωλάρια γεννηθέντα τὴν μητέρα*—and so ÆLIAN, *V. H.* iv. 9, and HELLADIUS *ap. PHOT. Cod.* 279, p. 533, b. Similarly THEODORET, *Cur. Gr. Aff.* v. 46, p. 77, says Aristotle often attacked Plato while he was yet alive: PHILOP. *Anal. Post.* 54 a, *Schol. in Arist.* 228, p. 16, that he had especially opposed his master's Ideal Theory; and AUGUSTINE, *Civ. Dei.* viii. 12, that he had established even then a numerous school.

<sup>4</sup> This occurrence is related by our sole authority (ÆLIAN, *V. H.* iii. 19, cf. iv. 9) in this way: that when Plato was over eighty, and his memory was failing, Aristotle on one occasion, Xenocrates being absent and Speusippus ill, had gone with a band of his own pupils and started a debate with Plato, in which he drove the old man into a corner with such rude pertinacity that Plato withdrew himself from the halls of the Academy into his own garden, and it was

ferred to Aristotle the statement of Aristoxenus that during Plato's Sicilian journey a school was erected in opposition to his own 'by strangers.'<sup>1</sup> All these data, however, are very doubtful, and most of the actual statements deserve no credence.<sup>2</sup> If the assertion of Aristoxenus were to be understood of Aristotle it could not possibly be true, for chronological reasons in the first place,<sup>3</sup> but also because we possess undoubted proofs that Aristotle belonged to Plato's school long after the second Sicilian journey, and held his master in the highest honour.<sup>4</sup> Probably, however,

only when Xenocrates returned, three months afterwards, that he reproached Speusippus for his cowardice and forced Aristotle to restore to Plato the disputed territory.

<sup>1</sup> ARISTOTEL. *apud* EUS. *Pr. Ev.* xv. 2, 2; τίς δ' ἂν πεισθεῖ τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀριστοξένου τοῦ μουσικοῦ λεγομένοις ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ Πλάτωνος; ἐν γὰρ τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ φησὶν ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ ἀντοικοδομεῖν αὐτῷ τινὰς περίπατον ξένους ὄντας. οἰοῦνται οὖν ἔνιοι ταῦτα περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λέγειν αὐτὸν, Ἀριστοξένου διὰ παντὸς εὐφημοῦντος Ἀριστοτέλην. Among the ἔνιοι was Aelian (iv. 9), who in reference no doubt to the words of Aristoxenus, says of Aristotle: ἀντοικοδόμησεν αὐτῷ [Plato] διατριβήν. So also the *Vita Marciana*, 3; οὐκ ἔρα ἀντοικοδόμησεν Ἀρ. σχολὴν . . . ὡς Ἀριστόξενος πρῶτος ἐσκοφάντησε καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὕστερον ἠκολούθησεν; referring to ARISTIDES, *De quatuorv.* ii. 324 sq. (Dind.), who, however, does not refer to Aristotle by name any more than Aristoxenus, whose account he re-

peats and extends. For Aristides the Latin Ammonius (11) substitutes Aristocles; but the Greek Pseudo-Ammonius (p. 44 sq.) limits itself to the remark: οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ζῶντος τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀντοικοδόμησεν αὐτῷ τὸ Λύκειον ὁ Ἀρ., ὡς τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. STAHR, i. 46 sqq., not refuted by HERMANN, *Plat. Phil.* p. 81, 125.

<sup>3</sup> When Plato returned from his last journey Aristotle was under 24 (cf. p. 2, n. 2, *supra*, and ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 30 sq.); is it (apart from other questions) likely that he could so early head a school against a master who was then at the height of his fame?

<sup>4</sup> The proofs of this are:—(a) Aristotle published several Platonic essays (cf. *infra* and ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 26). For many reasons (especially perhaps because of their notable departure from the method of teaching laid down by Plato, cf. ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 517 sq.) it is unlikely that these fall between the second and third of Plato's Sicilian

that statement did not refer to Aristotle at all.<sup>1</sup> Ælian's story as to driving Plato out of the Academy stands in contradiction with other and older<sup>2</sup> accounts which show that Plato at that time had long removed his school from the open spaces of the Gymnasium of the Academia to his own gardens. But besides, it ascribes to Aristotle a kind of behaviour which we could not believe of a man of otherwise noble character except on the most conclusive proofs: whereas here we have nothing but the testimony of a gossip-grubber, who is known to repeat without discrimination things that are palpably untrue. Against the suggestion that Aristotle had by

journeys. (b) The *Eudemus* of Aristotle (cf. *infra*) was written on the lines of Plato's *Phædo*, and Aristotle was probably still in the Platonic School when he wrote it, which was long after the third journey, since it is in memory of a friend who died 352 B.C. (c) Olympiodorus (*in Gorg.* 166, in JAHN'S *Jahrb. Supplementb.* xiv. 395, and BERGK, *Lyr. Gr.*, p. 504) has preserved some verses of Aristotle's Elegy on Eudemus, which thus describe his relation to Plato:

ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς κλεινὸν Κεκροπίης  
δάπεδον  
εὐσεβέως σεμνῆς φιλίης ἰδρύσατο  
βωμόν  
ἄνδρὸς, ὃν οὐδ' αἰνεῖν τοῖσι κακοῖσι  
θέμις. [Plato]  
ὃς μόνος ἢ πρῶτος θνητῶν κατέδειξεν  
ἐναργῶς  
οἰκείῃ τε βίῃ καὶ μεθόδοισι λόγων,  
ὥς ἀγαθὸς τε καὶ εὐδαίμων ἅμα  
γίνεται ἀνὴρ.  
οὐ νῦν δ' ἔστι λαβεῖν οὐδενὶ ταῦτα  
ποτέ.

Buhle (*Arist. Opp.* i. 55) doubts

their genuineness on grounds that are solved by our view of their application to the *Cyprian* Eudemus and *Plato*, instead of to the *Rhodian* Eudemus and *Aristotle* himself. In the corrupt last line, Bernays (*Rh. Mus. N. F.* xxxiii. 232) reads *μουνδέ*. He refers *ἄνδρὸς*, &c., to Socrates; but this seems unlikely.

<sup>1</sup> Aristocles (*ut supra*) says expressly that Aristoxenus always spoke well of Aristotle, against which testimony, founded on a knowledge of his book, the hint to the contrary in Suidas' *Ἀριστοξ.* is of no weight. The word *περίπατος* was used of other schools besides Aristotle's; cf. Epicurus, cited p. 8, n. 3, *supra*, and the *Index Herculanensis*, 6, 5, where it is used of Speusippus, and 7, 9, of Heraclides. The *τινὰς* of Aristoxenus may have referred to Heraclides himself; cf. ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 30, n. As to the *Index Hercul.* see *ibid.* p. 553.

<sup>2</sup> In DIOG. iii. 5, 41; cf. ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 25, n.

his general behaviour incurred Plato's disapproval and had so been kept at a distance by him,<sup>1</sup> we could bring many statements which imply that the relation between the two philosophers was of an entirely different kind.<sup>2</sup> We may allow no weight, therefore, to these accounts, which in any case are insufficiently attested, and we need take no notice of sundry other stories, whose inaccuracy is apparent.<sup>3</sup> But we have beyond this decisive reasons which negative, not only Ælian's story and the other similar tales, but the whole theory that there was before

<sup>1</sup> Buhle, p. 87, sees a proof of this in the fact that Plato does not mention Aristotle, to which circumstance even Stahr, p. 58, attached some weight. But how could he name Aristotle in *Socratic* dialogues? And probably all Plato's works, except the *Laws*, were written before Aristotle came to Athens at all.

<sup>2</sup> PHILOPONUS, *Aetern. Mundi* vi. 27: [Ap.] ἐπὶ Πλάτωνος τοσοῦτον τῆς ἀγχυρίας ἡγάσθη, ὥς νοῦς τῆς διατριβῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύεσθαι: and *Ps. Ammon.* 44, says Plato called Aristotle's house οἶκος ἀναγνώστων: cf. also ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 559. To the same tradition belong the very doubtful story cited in ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 26, n., and the account of the altar dedicated with a laudatory inscription by Aristotle to Plato on his death (*Amm.* 46, PHILOPON. *i.g.r.*, *Schol. in Arist.* 11, b, 29), which arose, no doubt, out of a mistranslation of the Elegy to Eudemus, p. 11, n. 4, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Such is the idea mentioned by Philoponus (*ut supra*, 11, b, 23 sqq., where in l. 25, *lege* Ἀριστοτέ-

λους) and by David (*ibid.* 20, b, 16), that Aristotle was ashamed to mount the teacher's chair while Plato lived, and that this was the origin of the name 'Peripatetic.' There is another theory (PHILOPON. *ut supra*, 35, b, 2, DAVID. *ibid.* 24, a, 6, AMMON. *ibid.* 25, b, and the *Pseudo-Ammon.* p. 47, *V. Marc.* 5, *Ammon. Latin.* 14) that the name of Peripatetics belonged originally to the Platonic school; that when Aristotle and Xenocrates took over that school after Plato's death, or rather that of Speusippus, Aristotle's followers were called Peripatetics of the Lyceum and the others Peripatetics of the Academy; and that, in the end, the one school were called Peripatetics only, and the other Academics. The origin of this theory is doubtless Antiochus, in whose name Varro in *Cic. Acad.* i. 4, 17 tells an exactly similar story: which indicates that the whole is only an invention of that Eclecticism, developed by Antiochus, which denied that there was any essential difference between Plato and Aristotle.

Plato's death any breach between him and his scholar. Authorities which are beyond any comparison with Ælian and the rest in their antiquity and credibility, assert that Aristotle remained with Plato twenty years,<sup>1</sup> which plainly could not be true if, although he lived for that time in Athens, he had separated himself from Plato before the end. Dionysius, indeed, expressly adds that in all this time he founded no school of his own.<sup>2</sup> So even in later years and in passages where he is contesting the principles of the Platonic School, Aristotle constantly reckons himself as belonging to it;<sup>3</sup> and he uses language as to the founder of that school and his own personal relation to him such as plainly shows how little the sentiment of respect and affection for his great master had failed in his mind,<sup>4</sup> even where their philosophic opposition was accentuated in the sharpest way. So also we find that he was treated as a Platonist by contemporary opponents;<sup>5</sup> for Cephisodorus

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 6, n. 3, and p. 8, n. 1, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. ad Amm.* i. 7, p. 733: *συνὴν Πλάτωνι καὶ διέτριψεν ἕως ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, οὔτε σχολῆς ἡγούμενος οὐτ' ἰδίαν πεποιηκῶς αἵρεσιν.*

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle often brackets himself and the Platonists together: cf. *καθ' οὗς τρόπους δέικνυμεν ὅτι ἐστὶ τὰ εἶδη κατὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν καθ' ἣν εἶναι φαμεν τὰς ἰδέας*, and the like, *Metaph.* i. 9, 990, b, 8, 11, 16, 23, 992, a, 11, 25, c. 8, 989, b, 18; iii. 2, 997, b, 3, c. 6, 1002, b, 14; cf. *Alex. and Asclep.* on 990, b, 8; and *Alex.* on 990, b, 16, 991, b, 3, 992, a, 10.

<sup>4</sup> In a well-known passage of the *Ethics* which fits itself

seems to point to charges which his logical polemic against Plato had drawn down upon him, *Eth.* N. i. 4, *init.*: τὸ δὲ καθόλου βέλτιον ἴσως ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ διαπορῆσαι πῶς λέγεται, καίπερ προσάντους τῆς τοιαύτης ζητήσεως γινομένης διὰ τὸ φίλους ἀνδρας εἰσαγαγεῖν τὰ εἶδη. δόξειε δ' ἂν ἴσως βέλτιον εἶναι καὶ δεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρία γε τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἀναιρεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ φιλοσόφους ὄντας ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ὄντων φίλοιν ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Cf. ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 512; cf. also ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* i. p. 971, as to Aristotle's own view of his duty to a teacher.

<sup>5</sup> NUMEN, *apud EUS. Pr. Ev.* xiv. 6, 8.



the Isocratean, in a book directed against Aristotle, attacked the Platonic doctrine and particularly the 'Ideas,' and Theocritus of Chios accused Aristotle of exchanging the Academy for Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> Again, it is established that he stayed in Athens until Plato's death, and immediately thereafter left the city for several years, presumably for no other reason than that then for the first time the tie that bound him to the city was dissolved, because his relation to Plato was then for the first time broken. Finally, we are told<sup>2</sup> that Xenocrates journeyed with him to Atarneus; and it is probable from the language in which Aristotle speaks of that Academic's opinions<sup>3</sup> that they continued to be friends in later times. But in view of the known loyalty of Xenocrates and his unbounded reverence for Plato, it is not to be supposed that he would maintain his relations with Aristotle and keep him company on the visit to Atarneus, if the latter had separated from his master in a disrespectful way, or had, by any such rude conduct as Ælian ascribes to him, insulted the aged teacher not long before his death.

It is of course altogether probable that so independent a mind as Aristotle's would not give up its own judgment even in face of a Plato; that as time

<sup>1</sup> In the epigram noticed at p. 20, n. 3, *infra*: *ἔλκετο ναιεῖν ἀντ' Ἀκαδημείας Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς*, B. being a river near Pella.

<sup>2</sup> By STRABO (xiii. 1, 57, p. 610), whom we have no reason to disbelieve.

<sup>3</sup> Others have remarked that Aristotle almost never mentions Xenocrates, and that he avoids his name as if on purpose where

he is obviously alluding to him (cf. the cases cited, ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 364, n.; and notes on p. 585, and later passages), whereas Speusippus is named in parallel cases. This probably indicates not ill-feeling, but rather a desire to avoid the appearance of personal conflict with one who was teaching beside him at Athens.

went on he began to doubt the unconditional validity of the Platonic system and to lay the foundations of his own: and that he perhaps even in these days laid bare many of the weak points of his teacher with the same uncompromising criticism which we find him using later on.<sup>1</sup> If a certain difference between the two men had developed out of such relations, or if Plato had not been more ready than many others since, to recognise in his scholar the man who was destined to carry forward and to correct his own work, it would be nothing wonderful. Yet that any such difference actually arose cannot be proved, and cannot even be shown to be very probable<sup>2</sup>: while we have patent facts to disprove the idea that Aristotle brought on any open breach by ingratitude or intentional offence. The same facts make it very improbable that Aristotle opened any philosophic school of his own during his first residence in Athens. If he had done so, his friendly relations with Plato and the Platonic circle could hardly have gone on, and it would be unintelligible that he should leave Athens exactly at the moment when the death of his great rival left the field free for himself.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Even in the books 'On Philosophy' (*Arist. Fragm.* 10, 11, p. 1475), apparently written before Plato's death, he had openly combated the Ideal Theory, and in the same treatise (*Fragm.* 17, 18) had maintained the eternity of the world.

<sup>2</sup> We have no right to ascribe to Plato and his circle of friends the later ideas of school-orthodoxy, in any such sense as to suppose that the master could not tolerate the independence of such

a scholar as Aristotle. Besides, not to mention Heraclides and Eudoxus, Speusippus himself dropped the Ideal Theory.

<sup>3</sup> The remark of the Pseudo-Ammonius that Chabrias and Timotheus prevented Aristotle from setting up a new school against Plato is absurd. Who could hinder him, if he chose? Chabrias, moreover, died in 358 B.C.; and Timotheus was banished from Athens for life in the following year, being then a very old man.

If, then, Aristotle was connected with Plato, as one of his school, from his eighteenth to his thirty-seventh year, it follows that we cannot well over-estimate the influence of such a relation upon his course of thought. The effect of that education on Aristotle's philosophic system discloses itself at every point. The grateful scholar has himself<sup>1</sup> commemorated the moral greatness and lofty principles of the man 'whom the base have not even the right to praise.' But the reverence for the master would obviously not prevent Aristotle from turning his attention at the same time to all other sources which might carry him onward and help to satisfy his insatiable thirst for knowledge. We may safely assume that he did in fact employ his long years of preparation at Athens in busy acquirement of his marvellous learning, and also that he took a keen interest in researches in natural philosophy, though Plato always treated it as of secondary importance. It is also possible that even while he was still a member of Plato's circle he may himself have lectured,<sup>2</sup> without thereby breaking off his relations with Plato or setting himself up against him as the leader of a competing school. We hear, for instance, that Aristotle taught Rhetoric in opposition to Isocrates;<sup>3</sup> but we know that the great

<sup>1</sup> See the lines on p. 12 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> STRABO (xiii. 1, 57, p. 610) says of Hermias that he heard at Athens both Plato and Aristotle.

<sup>3</sup> CIC. *De Orat.* iii. 35, 141: *Aristoteles, cum florere Isocratem nobilitate discipulorum videret, . . . mutacit repente totam formam prope discipline suæ* [which sounds as if Aristotle had even then a school of his own, though

Cicero seems to be without exact information] *versumque quandam Philoctetæ paullo secus dixit. Illi enim turpe sibi ait esse toreræ, cum barbaros: hic autem, cum Isocratem pateretur dicere. Itaque ornavit et illustravit doctrinam illam omnem, rerumque cognitionem cum orationis exercitatione conjunxit. Neque res fugit sapientissimum regem*

orator's relations with Plato were no longer good and that he attacked the philosophers.<sup>1</sup> We have distinct indications also which lead us to assign to this same period the commencement of Aristotle's activity as a writer; and the fact that in the writings of this time he imitated his master, both in matter and form,<sup>2</sup> shows clearly how completely he took on the impress of Plato's spirit and made the Platonic methods his own. In time, of course, and no doubt even before he left Athens, Aristotle acquired as a writer a more independent position; and it is manifest that he had in reality outgrown the position of one of Plato's pupils, long before that relation came visibly to an end by the death of the master.

*lippum, qui hunc Alexandro filio doctorem accierit.* Again, *ibid.* 19, 62, *Arist. Isocratem ipsum laccessivit*, and *ibid.* 51, 172, *quis . . . acrior Arist. fuit? quis porro Isocrati est adversatus impensius?* In *Tusc.* i. 4, 7, Cicero assumes that Aristotle attacked Isocrates in his lifetime, which would be possible only in his first residence at Athens, for when he returned in 335-4 B.C. Isocrates was many years dead. Cf. QUINTIL. iii. 1, 14: *Eoque [Isocrate] jam seniore . . . pomeridianis scholis Arist. præcipere artem oratoriam cæpit, noto quidem illo, ut traditur, versu ex Philocteta frequenter usus: αἰσχροὺν σιωπᾶν Ἰσοκράτην [δ'] ἐὰν λέγειν.* Diog. (3) with less probability, reads *ἑνοκράτην*, so misplacing the story as of the time of the founding of the Lyceum. Cicero (*Offic.* i. 1, 4) speaks clearly of contests between Aristotle and Isocrates in his life (*de Arist. et Isocrate . . . quorum uterque suo studio delectatus contempsit alterum*), and Isocrates himself, *Ep. v. ad Alex.* 3,

makes a covert attack on Aristotle, which confirms the story: *Panath.* 17 can hardly refer to Aristotle, because of the dates; cf. SPENGLER, *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad.* vi. 470 sq. Cephisodorus, a pupil of Isocrates, wrote a defence of his master against Aristotle, full of bitter abuse; v. DIONYS. *De Isocr.* c. 18, p. 577; ATHEN. ii. 60, d, cf. iii. 122, b; ARISTOTCL. *ap. EUS. Pr. Ev.* xv. 24, NUMEN. *ibid.* xiv. 6, 8, THEMIST. *Or.* xxiii. 285, c. This friction did not prevent Aristotle from doing justice to his opponents: in the Rhetoric he quotes examples from no one so readily as Isocrates, and twice quotes Cephisodorus (*Rhet.* iii. 10, 1411, a, 5, 23). Cf. as to the whole subject STAHR, i. 68 sq., ii. 285 sq.

<sup>1</sup> SPENGLER, 'Isokr. und Platon,' *Abh. d. Münch. Akad.* vii. 731, and ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 416, ii. 459, n.

<sup>2</sup> See for proof *infra*. Of the Aristotelian writings known to us the greater part of the Dialogues and some of the rhetorical

That event opens a new chapter of Aristotle's life. So long as Plato led the Academy, Aristotle would not leave it. When Speusippus took his place,<sup>1</sup> Aristotle had nothing to keep him in Athens; since he does not seem to have at first contemplated the foundation of a philosophical school of his own, for which Athens would naturally have been the fittest place. Therefore he accepted, with Xenocrates, an invitation from Hermias, the lord of Atarneus and Assos,<sup>2</sup> who had himself at one time belonged to Plato's school.<sup>3</sup> The prince was the intimate friend of both,<sup>4</sup> and they remained three years with him.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter Aristotle went to Mytilene.<sup>6</sup> This, Strabo says, was for his own safety, because Hermias had fallen into the power of the Persians by treachery; it is probable, however, that Aristotle had left before that event.<sup>7</sup> After the death

texts — perhaps the *Συναγωγή* *Τεχνῶν* — seem to belong to the first Athenian period.

<sup>1</sup> This choice has caused surprise, but wrongly. It is possible that Plato had a greater personal liking for Speusippus than for Aristotle, or expected from him a more orthodox continuation of his teaching. Speusippus was a much older man, was Plato's nephew, had been brought up by him, had followed him faithfully for a long period of years, and was also the legal heir of Plato's garden near the Academy. Besides, we do not know whether Plato did himself bequeath the succession or not.

<sup>2</sup> BOECKH, 'Hermias,' *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1853, *Hist. Phil.* KI. p. 133 sq.

<sup>3</sup> STRABO, xiii. 1, 57, p. 610, APOLLODOR. *ap.* DIOG. 9, and

DIONYS. *Ep. ad Amm.* i. 5, who agree that Aristotle went to Hermias after Plato's death. The opposite would not follow from the charge cited from Eubulides on p. 10, n. 1, *supra*, even if that were true. Strabo names Assos as the place where Aristotle lived during this period.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 17, n. 2, *supra*. Aristotle's enemies (*apud* DIOG. 3, ANON. MENAG., and SUIDAS, 'Ap.), suggest that this friendship was an immoral one, but this is impossible; BOECKH, *ibid.* 137.

<sup>5</sup> Apollodorus, Strabo, Dionysius, etc., *ut supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Ol. 108. 4 = 345-4 B.C., in the archonship of Eubulus: see Apollod. and Dionys. *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Boeckh, *ibid.* 142, refuting Strabo, has shown this to be probable, though not certain.

of Hermias the philosopher married <sup>1</sup> Pythias, who was either the sister or niece of his friend; <sup>2</sup> and of his lasting affection for them both he left more than one memorial.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to ARISTOCLES (*see next note*) citing a Letter to Antipater: *τεθνεώτος γὰρ Ἑρμείου διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνον εὐνοίαν ἐγγμεν αὐτὴν, ἄλλως μὲν σάφρονα καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὖσαν, ἀτυχοῦσαν μέντοι διὰ τὰς καταλαβούσας συμφορὰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς*. Strabo (*ut supra*) says Hermias married her to Aristotle in his lifetime, which is negated by the Letter, if genuine. Aristocl. (*ibid.* 4, 8) says that Aristotle was accused in his lifetime of having flattered her brother to win Pythias, and also that Lyco, the Pythagorean, told a foolish story of Aristotle sacrificing to her after her death as Demeter. Diog. (v. 4) caps this by placing the sacrifice immediately after his marriage. Lucian (*Evyn. c. 9*) talks of sacrificing to Hermias; cf. a like hint in ATHEN. xv. 697 a.

<sup>2</sup> The ANON. MENAG., Suidas, s. v. 'Ἑρμίας, and Hesych. call her his daughter, the untrustworthy Aristippus (apud DIOG. 3) his concubine. Both are disproved by the fact that Hermias was a eunuch (for the statements of Suid. Hesych. and Anon. Menag. as to this are irreconcilable with DEMETR. *De Eloc.* 293). ARISTOCLES *ap. EUS.* xv. 2, 8 sq. cites a letter of Aristotle to Antipater, and a book by Apellion of Teos relating to Hermias and Aristotle, and says that Pythias was the sister and adopted daughter of Hermias. Strabo (xiii. 610) calls her niece,

Demetr. of Magnesia (*apud* DIOG. v. 3) daughter or niece. Cf. BOECKH, *ibid.* 140. HARPOCRATION, SUID. s. v. 'Ἑρμίας, *Etym. M.*, and PHOT. *Lex.*, call her an adopted daughter.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. (6) says he had a monument (whose inscription he cites) erected to Hermias at Delphi. A contemporary lampoon on this by Theocritus of Chios (a witty rhetorician of the Isocratean school and local leader of anti-Macedonian politics) is noticed by DIOG. 11, ARISTOCL. *ut supra*, and PLUT. *De Exil.* 10, p. 603; cf. MÜLLER, *Hist. Gr.* ii. 86, and *supra*, p. 15, n. 1. Aristotle also dedicated to Hermias the poem preserved in DIOG. 7, and ATHEN. xv. 695. As to Pythias, the will directs that, as she wished, her remains should be laid beside his own; as no other burial-place is named, she was probably first buried at Athens, and died, therefore, after Ol. 111, 2, but not very long before Aristotle's death, since the Pythias who was then not marriageable was her daughter (cf. ARISTOCL., SUIDAS and the ANON. MENAG.). After her death Aristotle 'married' (ἐγγμε) a certain Herpyllis of Stagira, who bore him a son Nicomachus (ARISTOCL. cf. DIOG. 14); and though their union was apparently irregular (v. Timæus ap. Schol. in HES. *Ε. κ. Η.* v. 375; DIOG. v. 1. *ap. MÜLLER, Fragm. Hist. Gr.* i. 211; ATHEN. xiii. 589 c, citing Hermippus and call-

In the year 343 or 342 B.C. (Olymp. 109, 2),<sup>1</sup> Aristotle accepted a call to the Macedonian Court<sup>2</sup> to take charge of the education of the young Alexander, then thirteen years old,<sup>3</sup> which before that had not been in the best hands.<sup>4</sup> The invitation probably found him in Mytilene.<sup>5</sup> We have no reliable testimony as to the special reasons which led Philip to think of Aristotle.<sup>6</sup> Most unfortunately, we are almost entirely

ing her a *ἑταῖρα*; SUIDAS and the ANON. MENAG.), yet he must have treated her as his wife, and his will speaks of her with honour, provides for her, and begs his friends *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι . . . μνησθέντας ἐμοῦ, καὶ Ἑρπυλλίδος, ὅτι σπουδαῖα περὶ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐὰν βούληται ἄνδρα λαμβάνειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀναξίῳ ἡμῶν δοθῇ* (DIOG. 13).—As to Aristotle's daughter we know from Sext. Math. (i. 258), the Anon. Menag. and Suidas *s. v.* 'Αρ., that after Nicanor she had two husbands, Procles of Sparta, and Metrodorus the physician; by the former she had two sons who were scholars under Theophrastus, by the latter a son, Aristoteles, who was commended (being then probably young) by Theophrastus to his friends in his will. Nicomachus was brought up by Theophrastus, but died in youth (*μεταρρίκκος*) in battle (Aristocl. *ap.* EUS. xv. 2, 10; DIOG. v. 29; SUIDAS *s. v.* Θεόφρ. and Νικόμ., confirmed by the terms of Theophrastus' will, *apud* DIOG. v. 51). The six books of *Ethics* and the work on his father's *Physics*, ascribed to him by Suidas, are therefore very doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> This date is given by APOLL. *ap.* DIOG. 10, and DIONYS.

*ut supra*. The Schol. in Arist. 23 b, 47, says Aristotle was at Alexander's Court at Plato's death, but this is obviously wrong.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GEIER, *Alexander und Arist.* (Halle, 1856).

<sup>3</sup> Diog. says fifteen, which must be an oversight, for Apollodorus cannot be wrong in such a date (cf. STAHR, p. 85).

<sup>4</sup> PLUT. *Alex. c. v.*; QUINTIL. i. 1, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Stahr (p. 84, 105, A. 2) is not averse to the view that Aristotle first went back from Mytilene to Athens, but none of our biographers know anything of it. On the contrary, DIONYS., *ut supra*, expressly says he went from Mytilene to Philip. Aristotle in a fragment of a letter *ap.* DEMETR. *De Eloc.* 29, 154, says: *ἐγὼ ἐκ μὲν Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Στάγειρα ἦλθον διὰ τὸν βασιλῆα τὸν μέγαν ἐκ δὲ Σταγείρων εἰς Ἀθήνας διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν μέγαν*, but this jocular expression, even if the letter is genuine, proves nothing, as it is clearly meant, not as an exact historical statement, but as a rhetorical antithesis between the *termini* of his journeys, leaving out the intermediate points.

<sup>6</sup> According to a well-known story, Philip had told Aristotle,

without information as to the kind of education he gave the young and ambitious prince, and the influence he had upon him.<sup>1</sup> But we should be forced to assume that

before Alexander's birth, that he hoped he would make a great man of him (r. the letter *ap.* GELL. ix. 3), but the letter is certainly spurious, for Philip could not have written in these extravagant terms to a young man of 27, who had had no chance to distinguish himself; and, again, if he had destined him to be his son's instructor from birth, he would have brought him to Macedonia before Ol. 109, 2. But the prince, who was deeply interested in science and art, and no doubt well informed of what was going on in Athens, may have taken notice of Aristotle after he had become one of the most distinguished of Plato's school, though little weight attaches to Cicero's statement to that effect (*De Orat.* iii. 35, 141). It is also possible that through his father, Aristotle had relations with the Macedonian court, and he may himself, as Stahr (p. 33) suggests, have been acquainted in his youth with Philip, who was the youngest son of Amyntas and about his own age.

<sup>1</sup> There was a work, or perhaps a section of a larger work, 'On the Education of Alexander,' by the Macedonian historian Marsyas (SUID. s. v. *Μαρς*; cf. MÜLLER, *Script. Alex.* M. 40, and GEIER, *Alex. Hist. Script.* 320 sq.). Onesicritus had treated of it also in a chapter of his *Memorabilia* (GEIER, *ibid.* 77; DIOG. vi. 84). Yet the accounts we have of it are very scanty, and it is

not certain that any are trustworthy. Plutarch (*Alex.* c. 7 sq.) praises Alexander's thirst for knowledge, his delight in books and learned conversation, and his passion for the poets and historians of his people. He assumes that he was instructed by Aristotle, not only in ethics and politics, but in the deeper secrets of his system, basing this on the well-known letter (*q. v. ap.* GELL. xx. 5, quoting Andronicus, and *ap.* SIMPL. *Phys.* 2 b), in which Alexander chides Aristotle for publishing his acroamatic doctrines, and Aristotle replies that those who had not *heard* them would not understand them. Plutarch also connects Alexander's fancy for medicine, which he sometimes tried personally on his friends, with Aristotle's teaching. These are, however, more or less probable guesses, and what appears most important is least trustworthy, for the letters turn on the theory of an acroamatic and esoteric teaching confined to a few, as to the incorrectness of which *v. p.* 112, *inf.* We hear of two books which Aristotle addressed to his pupil, *Περὶ βασιλείας*, and *Ἐν τῷ Ἀπολικῷ*, *d. q. v.* p. 60, n. 1 *inf.* Plut. (*Alex.* 8) says Aristotle revised the text of the *Iliad* for Alexander. As fellow-pupils of Alexander are named Marsyas (SUID. *Μαρς*), Callisthenes (JUSTIN. xii. 6; cf. PLUT. *Alex.* 55; DIOG. v. 4; ARRIAN. iv. 10; but *vide* GEIER, *Alex. Script.* 192 sq.), and perhaps Cassander (PLUT. *Alex.* 74). At



that influence was important and beneficial, even if we had less distinct testimony as to the respect of the great pupil for his teacher, and as to the love of learning which the philosopher imparted to the king.<sup>1</sup> Alexander was not only the invincible conqueror, but also a far-seeing ruler, ripe beyond his years. He was ambitious to establish the supremacy, not of Grecian arms only, but also of the Hellenic culture. He withstood for years the greatest temptations to overweening pride to which any man could be exposed. In spite of his later errors, he still stands far above all other world-conquerors in nobility of spirit, in purity of morals, in love of humanity, and in personal culture. And for all this the world has in no small degree to thank the tutor who formed his apt intelligence by scientific training and fortified by sound principles his natural instinct for all that was great and noble.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle himself appears to have made a kindly use of the influence which his position gave him, for we hear that he interceded with the king for individuals and even for whole cities.<sup>3</sup>

the same time Alexander met Theodectes (PLUT. *Alex.* 17), and probably also Theophrastus (*d. q. vide* ÆLIAN. *V. H.* iv. 19). DIOG. v. 39, but cf. 52. The fabulous stories as to Alexander's youth, preserved by the pseudo-Callisthenes, may be ignored.

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. *Alex.* 8: Ἀριστοτέλην δὲ θαυμάζων ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἀγαπῶν οὐχ ἦττον, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, τοῦ πατρὸς, ὥς δι' ἐκείνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑποπτότερον ἔσχεν [v. *infra*], οὐχ ὥστε ποιῆσαι τι κακόν, ἀλλ' αἱ φιλοφροσύναι τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐκείνου καὶ στερκτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριότητος

ἐγένοντο τεκμήριον. ὁ μὲντοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπεφυκὼς καὶ συντε-  
θραμμένος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ζῆλος καὶ πόθος οὐκ ἐξεργήσῃ τῆς ψυχῆς, as his relation to Anaxarchus, Xenocrates, and the Indian philosophers Dandamis and Kalanus showed (notwithstanding THE-  
MIST. *Or.* viii. 106, D.).

<sup>2</sup> That he did not act in practice on Aristotelian principles (PLUT. *Virt. Alex.* i. 6, p. 329; cf. STAHR, p. 99, 2; DROYSEN, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* i. b, 12 sq.) proves nothing to the contrary.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. *Amm.* 46, *V. Marc.* 4, *Amm. lat.* 13, ÆLIAN, *V. H.* xii. 54

Of the latter we are told that Stagira (whose refoundation he procured from Philip<sup>1</sup>), Eresus,<sup>2</sup> and Athens,<sup>3</sup> had at different times to thank him for his advocacy.

When Alexander, at the age of sixteen, was appointed Regent by his father,<sup>4</sup> Aristotle's teaching must naturally have come to an end. It cannot afterwards have been resumed in any regular way, for in the immediately following years the precocious prince took a most active

<sup>1</sup> So PLUT. *Alex.* c. 7, cf. *Adr. Col.* 33, 3, p. 1126, and DIO. CHRYSOST. *Or. 2<sup>nd</sup>*, *Or.* 47, 224 B. On the other hand, DIOG. 4, *Ps. Ammon.* 47, *V. Marc.* 4, *Ammon. Latin.* 13, PLIN. *H. Nat.* vii. 29, 109, ÆLIAN. *V. H.* iii. 17, xii. 54, VALER. MAX. v. 6, ascribe the restoration of Stagira to Alexander. Plutarch, however, seems on the whole better informed, and is confirmed by the expressions of Aristotle and Theophrastus themselves; cf. p. 25, n. 2, *infra*. Plut. (*Adr. Col.* 32, 9) and Diog. (4) say that Aristotle also framed laws for the restored city, which is hardly credible. DION (*Or.* 47) relates that he had to contend with great difficulties in the restoration, of which he complains in a letter, which may or may not be genuine. His work did not last long, for Dion (*ibid.*) and Strabo (vii. fr. 35) describe Stagira as uninhabited: that it succeeded for the time is clear from p. 25, n. 2, & p. 37, n. 3 & 4.

<sup>2</sup> A doubtful story in *Ps. Amm.* p. 47, and in *V. Marc.* and *Ammon. Latin.* represents Aristotle as saving Eresus from destruction by Alexander.

<sup>3</sup> *V. Marc.* 4 and *Ammon. Latin.* (13) refer to the service that Aristotle did the Athenians in his letter to Philip, and add

that a monument was erected to him in consequence on the Acropolis. The story may be suspected of resting on a spurious letter; yet DIOG. (6) also says: *φησι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἐν τοῖς βίοις, ὅτι πρεσβεύοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων σχολάρχης ἐγένετο τῆς ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ σχολῆς Ἑενοκράτης* ἐλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ θεασάμενον ὑπ' ἄλλῃ τὴν σχολὴν ἐλέσθαι περιπατοῦν τὸν ἐν Λυκείῳ. This cannot be true as stated, for at Speusippus' death, 339 B.C., Aristotle had long been Alexander's tutor, and at that date there could be no question of embassies to Macedonia. Stahr's theory (p. 67, 72) of an embassy in Aristotle's first residence at Athens is untenable. The story may relate to the two years between the battle of Chæronea and Philip's murder, when Aristotle, already influential at the Macedonian Court, might by his intercession have done some service to Athens which Hermippus could describe by some such term as *πρεσβεύειν*. The favour Alexander showed to the Athenians may have been partly due to Aristotle's influence (PLUT. *Alex.* c. 13, 16, 28, 60).

<sup>4</sup> OL. 110. 1, = 340 B.C., the year of Philip's campaign against Byzantium. (DIOD. xvi. 77; PLUT. *Alex.* 9.)

part in his father's decisive campaigns: though that circumstance does not exclude the possibility of some continuance of their intellectual pursuits in the intervals of leisure.<sup>1</sup> Aristotle seems at this time to have withdrawn to the city of his birth.<sup>2</sup> At an earlier period he and his pupil had already left Pella.<sup>3</sup> After Alexander ascended the throne, Aristotle must still have remained some time in the north. But with the beginning of the great war with Persia, the reasons that had bound him to Macedonia came to an end, and there was no longer anything to keep him away from that city, which offered at once the most congenial residence<sup>4</sup> and the best field for his teaching work.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During this period Aristotle might or might not be called Alexander's tutor; which accounts probably for the different stories as to the length of his tutorship, given by Dionys. as eight years (his whole residence in Macedonia), and by Justin (xii. 7) as five years, which is itself too long.

<sup>2</sup> That the last period before his return to Athens was spent in Stagira, where his family house was (cf. p. 3, n. 2), is assumed in the fragment quoted p. 21, n. 5, the genuineness of which is not beyond doubt. He must have treated Stagira as his home, since in his will (DIOG. 16) he orders the votive offering for Nicomachus to be erected there. His second wife was of Stagira (v. p. 20, n. 3), and Theophrastus owned land in the city (DIOG. v. 52), with which he shows himself to be well acquainted. Cf. *Hist. Plant.* iii. 11, 1; iv. 16, 3.

<sup>3</sup> PLUT. (*Alex.* c. 7) says he and Alexander lived at the Nymph-

æum, near Mieza. Stahr (104) takes this to be near Stagira, but Geier (*Alexander und Aristot.* 33) shows it to be S.W. of Pella, in Emathia.

<sup>4</sup> The fragment quoted p. 21, n. 5, says it was the Thracian winter that drove him from Stagira, but this could scarcely be the chief reason.

<sup>5</sup> The *Ps. Ammon.* 47, says Aristotle was, after Speusippus' death, called to Athens by the Athenians, or, according to *V. Marc.* 5, by the Platonic school, the leadership of which he took over in common with Xenocrates (cf. p. 13, n. 3). The three recensions of this biography, however, contain at this point a chaos of fables. The *Ps. Ammon.* says Aristotle taught after this call in the Lyceum, had afterwards to fly to Chalcis, went thence again to Macedonia, accompanied Alexander on his Indian expedition, collected in his travels his 255 forms of government, returned after

He returned to Athens<sup>1</sup> in Olymp. 111. 2 (B.C. 335-4) thirteen years after Plato's death. The time thus left for his work in that city was but twelve years,<sup>2</sup> but what he accomplished in that short interval borders on the incredible. Even if we may assume that he had already in great part completed the preparatory work for his philosophy, and that the researches in natural philosophy and the historical collections which supplied the materials for his theoretic labours had perhaps been brought to some kind of conclusion before his return to Athens, it seems certain that almost all his systematic treatises belong entirely to this last period of his life.

death to his native town, and died there twenty-three years after Plato. The *Latin. Ammon.* (14, 17) and the *Vita Marciana* (5, 8) send him with Alexander to Persia collecting his 255 polities, and returning home after the war, and after all this they make him start teaching in the Lyceum, fly to Chalcis and die there, twenty-three years after Plato. The collection of polities in Alexander's campaigns is noticed also by AMMON. *Categ.* 5, b; DAVID, *Schol. in An.* 24, a, 34; PS.-PORPH. *ibid.* 9, b, 26; ANON. *ad Porph.* apud ROSE, *Ar. pseud.* 393. To seek any grains of truth in this confusion would be lost time.

<sup>1</sup> APOLLOD. *apud* DIOG. 10, and DIONYS. *ut sup.*, both agree in naming Ol. 111, 2, but do not indicate whether Aristotle came in the first or second half of the year, *i.e.* end of 335 or spring of 334. For the latter it may be argued that the hostility of Athens to Alexander was only terminated and the Macedonian influence

restored after the destruction of Thebes in the summer of 335, and that Alexander did not start on his march into Asia till the spring of 334. For the other view the calculation of Dionys. (*see next note*) may be quoted, but it is probable that this is merely his own deduction from the years given by Apollod.—Ol. 111, 2, for the arrival in Athens; Ol. 114, 3, for his death; therefore, Ol. 114, 2, for the flight to Chalcis.

<sup>2</sup> DIONYS. *ut supra*: ἐσχόλα-  
ζεν ἐν Λυκείῳ χρόνον ἑτῶν δώδεκα·  
τῷ δὲ τρισκαίδεκάτῳ, μετὰ τὴν  
Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν, ἐπὶ Κεφισο-  
δώρου ἔρχοντος, ἀπέρas εἰς Χαλκίδα  
νόσῳ τελευτᾷ. As Alexander died  
June 323, and Aristotle in autumn  
322 (cf. p. 37), this reckoning  
will be exact if Aristotle came  
to Athens in the autumn of 335  
and left in the autumn of 323.  
It would also coincide if Aristotle  
went to Athens in spring 334 and  
to Chalcis in summer 322, which,  
however, is otherwise unlikely.  
as is shown at p. 36, n. 1, *infra*.

Parallel with this comprehensive and strenuous labour as a writer went on his work as a teacher, since he now at last began to compete with his great master on a footing of equality as the founder of a new school. The open spaces of the Lyceum were the resort that he chose for his hearers.<sup>1</sup> He was wont to converse with his scholars as he walked up and down in that gymnasium between the rows of trees; and from this custom his school derived the name of the 'Peripatetics.'<sup>2</sup> For a more numerous audience, however, he would naturally have to adopt a different form of teaching.<sup>3</sup> Therefore,

<sup>1</sup> It was a gymnasium connected with a temple of Apollo Lykeios, and lay in one of the suburbs (cf. SUID. ΗΑΡΟCΡΑΤΙΟΝ, and *Schol. in Aristoph. Pac.* v. 352.

<sup>2</sup> HERMIPPUS *ap.* DIOG. 2, etc.; CIO. *Acad.* i. 4, 17; GELL. *N. A.* xx. 5, 5; DIOG. i. 17; GALEN. *H. phil.* c. 3; PHILOP. *in q. v. Schol. in Ar.* ii. b, 23 (cf. *in Categ. Schol.* 35, a, 41 sq.; AMMON. *in q. v. Porph.* 25, 6; DAVID, *in Categ.* 23, b, 42 sq., and p. 13, n. 3 *supra*); with DAVID, *Schol. in Ar.* 20, b, 16; SIMPL. *in Categ.* 1 *fin.* That this derivation is correct rather than the opposite view of Suidas (s. v. 'Αρ. and Ξωκράτης) and Hesych., which derives the name from the Πειπτατος of the Lyceum as the meeting-place of the school is proved, first, by the form of the word, which can be derived only from the verb, and also by the fact that the word Πειπτατος in the earliest times was not confined to the Aristotelians (v. p. 13, n. 3); though later it was

so limited, and they were called οἱ ἐκ (or ἀπὸ) τοῦ περιπάτου (or οἱ ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων, STRABO, xiii. 1, 54), as the other schools were called οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας, or οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς (v. SEXT. PYRRH. iii. 181; Math. vii. 331, 369; xi. 45, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> GELL. *ut supra*, says that Aristotle gave two kinds of instruction: the exoteric and the acroamatic. The former related to Rhetoric, and the latter to 'Philosophia remotior' (= Metaphysics) with Physics and Dialectic. The acroamatic instruction, which was intended only for those who were tried and well prepared, occupied the morning; the exoteric lectures, to which the public was admitted, the afternoon (cf. QUINTIL. iii. 1, 14, *pomeridianis scholis Ar. præcipere artem oratoriam cæpit*). The former was called the ἐωθινὸς, the latter the δειρινὸς περιπατος: *utroque enim tempore ambulans disseribat*. It is impossible, however, to address a large audience walking; therefore

as had already happened more or less with Plato, the Socratic fashion of the dialogue had to give place to that of a continuous lecture, whenever he was dealing either with a large number of scholars or with subjects in which there was something essentially new in form and matter to be explained or some inquiry to be carried through with scientific accuracy of detail.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, wherever these difficulties did not arise, he did no doubt retain the habit of philosophic dialogue with his friends as an alternative method.<sup>2</sup> In addition to his philosophical teaching he appears also to have revived his earlier school of Rhetoric,<sup>3</sup> in connection with which there were exercises in oratory.<sup>4</sup> It is this, and not

Diog. (3) is doubtless more correct, *ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλείους ἐγένοντο ἥδη καὶ ἐκθίσεν*.

<sup>1</sup> Such lectures must be meant when ARISTOX. (*Harm. elem.* p. 30) says that Aristotle in his teaching indicated the objects and method of his inquiry before giving the development of individual points. It is, as will be seen, probable as to many of the Aristotelian writings that they were either made up from notes of lectures, or intended as preparatory notes for lectures; and at the end of the *Topica* Aristotle directly addresses his audience (*Soph. El.* 34 *fin.*).

<sup>2</sup> This appears partly from the nature of the case, since Aristotle had among his hearers ripe and notable men like Theophrastus; partly from the fact that at least in earlier years he used the form of dialogue even in his writings; partly from the fashion of peripatetic teaching, which supposes conversation: cf.

DIOP. iv. 10, speaking of Polemo: *ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ καθίζων ἔλεγε πρὸς τὰς θέσεις, φασί, περιπατῶν δὲ ἐπὶ χεῖρει*. The continuous lecture on a definite theme is expressed by *πρὸς θέσιν λέγειν*: a more cursory treatment by *ἐπιχελεῖν* (cf. following notes).

<sup>3</sup> Diog. (3) is not a good witness, since what he appears to state of Aristotle's later time seems to be taken from a source relating to the earlier period of contest with Isocrates (cf. p. 17, n. 3). It is probable, however, from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* itself that in the oral philosophic teaching rhetoric was not forgotten, and GELL., *ut supra*, speaks expressly of rhetorical teaching in the Lyceum.

<sup>4</sup> DIOP. 3: *καὶ πρὸς θέσιν συγγύμναζε τοὺς μαθητὰς ἅμα καὶ ῥητορικῶς ἐπασκῶν*, the *θέσις* being a general topic, not a particular question (cf. CIO. *Top.* 21, 79, *Ep. ad Att.* ix. 4; QUINTIL. iii. 5. 5, x. 5. 11; and FREI, *Quæst.*

any popular lectures addressed to large audiences, that is referred to in the story that he received in the morning a small and select circle only and in the afternoon everyone freely.<sup>1</sup> At the same time we must also think of the Aristotelian school as a society of friends having on many sides a common life. For friendship its founder, bred in the intimacy of Plato, always showed by word and act a tender and beautiful enthusiasm; and we hear accordingly that, following the fashion of the Academy, he was wont to gather his scholars about him at common meals and that he introduced a plan of definite regulations for these meetings and for the whole of their common life.<sup>2</sup>

It is said that the aid and appliances which Aristotle needed for his far-reaching labours were provided for him by the favour of the two Macedonian rulers, and especially by the princely generosity of Alexander.<sup>3</sup>

*Prot.* 150). *Cic. Orat.* 14, 46: *In hac Ar. adolescentes, non ad philosophorum morem tenuiter disserendi, sed ad copiam rhetoricum in utramque partem, ut ornatius et uberius dici posset, exercuit.* Neither says whether the earlier or the later school of rhetoric is meant: probably both; cf. *GELL. ibid.* ἐξωτερικὰ διέβαντο, quæ ad rhetoricas meditationes facultatemque argutiarum civiliumque rerum notitiam conducebant . . . illas vero exotericas auditiones exercitiumque dicendi.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 27, n. 3, and *GELL. ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *ATHEN.* (i. 3, v. 186 b, cf. 186 e) says he wrote for their common meals ῥήτοι συμποτικοί,

which may refer, however, to the work mentioned p. 99, n. 1, *infra*; and *Diog.* (4) preserves a hint of his arrangement for the internal government of the school by officers changing every ten days. Cf. *ZELLER, Ph. d. Gr.* i. 839, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> According to *ÆLIAN* (V. H. iv. 19), Philip gave him ample means to pursue his investigations, πλοῦτον ἀνευδέν, especially in Natural History; *ATHEN.* (ix. 398) speaks of Alexander devoting 800 talents to that work; and *FLIN.* (II. Nat. viii. 16, 44) says Alex. placed under his orders all the hunters, fischers, and fowlers of the kingdom, and all overseers of the royal forests, ponds, and live stock, πῶς many thousands. P

However exaggerated the stories of the ancient writers on this subject may seem to be, and however wealthy we may fairly suppose Aristotle himself to have been by inheritance,<sup>1</sup> it is yet clear that the vast scope of his researches forces us to infer that he possessed advantages which he probably could not have commanded but for such kingly assistance. The deep and wide acquaintance with the writings of his people which his own works<sup>2</sup> disclose to us could hardly be possible without the possession of books; and on this head we are expressly told that he was the first who accumulated a great library.<sup>3</sup> Such works, again, as the *Politeiai* and the collection of foreign laws could not be produced without laborious and no doubt costly investigations. The books on Natural History especially and the kindred treatises presuppose researches such as no one could have brought to completion unless he had at his disposal or could set in action something more than the resources of a private individual. It was therefore a happy circumstance that the man whose grasp of mind and rare powers of ob-

however, is disproved (*v.* BRANDIS, p. 117 sq., and HUMBOLDT, *Kosm.* ii. 191, 427) by the fact that with a few exceptions, such as elephants, Aristotle shows no knowledge of things which would be discovered in Alexander's expedition.

<sup>1</sup> His will proves nothing as to his earlier years, but apart from the calumnies of his opponents, as to his pride and love of display, all we know of his way of life, his choice of residence, his marriage, and the means necessary for his extensive

studies, implies that he was not hampered by poverty. As to the worthlessness of the tales of Epicurus and Timæus, cf. p. 9, n. 1 and 3.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the extant works, we know of others concerning Rhetoric, Poetry, and the History of Philosophy.

<sup>3</sup> STRABO, xiii. 1, 54, p. 608 : *πρῶτος ὃν ἴσμεν συναγαγὼν βιβλία καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν.* Cf. ATHEN. i. 3, a. GELL. (iii. 17, 3) says Aristotle paid three Attic talents for the works of Speusippus.



servation marked him as the ablest founder of empirical science and of systematic learning, should have been so favoured by fortune that the needful equipment for his great calling was not denied him.

In the last years of Aristotle's life the good relations between him and his great pupil were disturbed.<sup>1</sup> The philosopher may well have taken offence at many of the things which Alexander did in the intoxication of success, at many measures which he found necessary for the consolidation of his conquests, but which were repugnant to the Hellenic traditions and to the self-respect of independent Greeks, and at the harsh and passionate excess into which the young conqueror was betrayed when he was surrounded by flatterers, embittered by personal opposition and made suspicious by treachery.<sup>2</sup> There would be no lack of tale-bearers to carry gossip true and false to the king, for the learned and philosophic members of his Court were plotting in their personal jealousies<sup>3</sup> to oust each other, and even the courtiers and generals doubtless sought to use the scientific proclivities of the prince as points in the game of their ambitions. As the king's relations with Antipater grew more unfriendly, it seems he was prejudiced against Aristotle<sup>4</sup> also, because of the close relations between the philosopher and the general.<sup>5</sup> But the severest blow to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 23, n. 1, *supra*. The exchange of letters which is cited as a proof of their friendship is unreliable, because we do not know how much is genuine.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch (cf. p. 23, n. 2, *supra*) says Aristotle was dissatisfied with Alexander's whole political idea of the fusion of the Greeks and Orientals.

<sup>3</sup> For examples *v.* PLUT. *Alex.* c. 52, 53, ARRIAN, iv 9-11.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. PLUT. *ibid.* 74 (though that is after the death of Callisthenes); as to Antipater, cf. PLUT. *Alex.* 39, 49; ARRIAN, vii. 12; CURT. x. 31; DIODOR. xvii 118.

<sup>5</sup> This friendship from the first

king's attachment to his tutor came through the action of Callisthenes.<sup>1</sup> The stiff-necked opposition of that philosopher to the new Oriental fashions of the Court; the bitter and reckless tone of his diatribes against them; the pointed way in which he vaunted his independence and drew upon himself the eyes of all the malcontents of the army; the importance he assumed to himself as Alexander's historian, and the arrogant airs he gave himself accordingly, had long caused the king to look on him with anger and mistrust. This made it the easier for his enemies to persuade the king of his complicity in the conspiracy of the nobles which had placed Alexander's life in the gravest danger, and Callisthenes lost his life<sup>2</sup> with the conspirators, though he was doubtless innocent of their treacherous design. In the heat of his anger the king's suspicions turned against Aristotle<sup>3</sup> also, for he had brought up Calli-

son, Cassander, was a pupil of Aristotle (PLUT. *Alex.* 74), by the letters of Aristotle to Antipater (Aristocl. *apud* EUS. *Pr. Ev.* xv. 2, 9; DIOG. 27; DEMETR. *Eloc.* 225; ÆLIAN, *V. H.* xiv. 1), and especially by the fact that Antipater is named as chief executor in Aristotle's will, *apud* DIOG. 11. The false story of his complicity in Alexander's death is based on this circumstance (*v. infra*).

<sup>1</sup> As to Callisthenes, see PLUT. *Alex.* 53-55; *Sto. rep.* 20, 6. p. 1043, *Qu. conv.* i. 6. p. 623; ARRIAN, *iv.* 10-14; CURT. *viii.* 18 sq.; CHARES *apud* ATHEN. x. 434 d; THEOPHRAST. *ap. CIC. Tusc.* iii. 10, 21; SENECA, *Not.*

*Qu.* vi. 23, 2; and of modern writers, STAHR, *Arist.* i. 121 sq.; DROYSEN, *Gesch. Alex.* ii. 88 sq.; GROTE, *Hist. of Greece*, xii. 290 sq., etc.

<sup>2</sup> It is highly improbable he was an accomplice, though we cannot say how far he was to blame for exciting by reckless talk his younger friends.

<sup>3</sup> Alex. writes to Antipater (PLUT. *Alex.* 55): οἱ μὲν παῖδες ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελεύσθησαν· τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν [Callisth.] ἐγὼ κολάσω καὶ τοὺς ἐκπέμψαντας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλευόντας. According to Chares (*ap. PLUT. ibid.*), he had at first intended to try Callisthenes in Aristotle's pres-

sthenes as a kinsman and had afterwards recommended him to the King,<sup>1</sup> though, no doubt, he also warned the reckless young man against imprudence.<sup>2</sup> The suspicion however led to nothing worse than a notable coolness in his relations with Alexander.<sup>3</sup> A story to the effect that Aristotle was concerned with Antipater in the alleged poisoning of Alexander was connected with the death of Callisthenes,<sup>4</sup> but the completely groundless nature of the charge has long ago been proved.<sup>5</sup> So far indeed was Aristotle from having any cause to desire his princely pupil's death that that event in reality brought serious dangers upon himself.

ence. The statement of Dio. Chrys. (*Or.* 64, p. 338) that Alexander meant to kill Aristotle and Antipater is merely a rhetorical exaggeration.

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. *ibid.*; ARRIAN, iv. 10, 1; DIOG. 4; SUID. Καλλισθ.

<sup>2</sup> DIOG. *ibid.*; VALER. MAX. vii. 2; PLUT. *Alex.* 54.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch says this expressly (cf. p. 23, n. 1, *supra*), and the story in Diog. 10, that Alexander, to mortify his teacher, took Anaximenes of Lampsacus and Xenocrates into favour, would not prove the contrary even if it were more credible; but it is unworthy of both Alexander and Aristotle. Plutarch, *ibid.*, on the contrary, sees in the king's kindness to Xenocrates, a consequence of Aristotle's teaching. Philoponus (*apud* ARIST. *Meteorol.* ed. Ideler, i. 142) cites a reputed letter of Alexander to Aristotle from India, which proves nothing.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest witness to this story is a certain Hagnothemis (*apud* PLUT. *Alex.* 77) who is said to have heard it from King Anti-

gonus I. Arrian (vii. 27) and Pliny (*H. Nat.* xxx. 16) mention it, but, like Plutarch, treat it as an invention. Xiphilinus (lxxvii. 7, p. 1293) says the Emperor Caracalla deprived the Peripatetics in Alexandria of their privileges on account of the alleged guilt of Aristotle.

<sup>5</sup> The disproof of the charge (cf. STAHR, *Ar.* i. 136 sq. and DROYSSEN, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* i. 705 sq.) rests, apart from its moral impossibility, on these grounds: (a) Plut. *ibid.* shows expressly that the suspicion of poisoning first arose six years after Alexander's death, when it afforded the passionate Olympias a welcome pretext to slake her hatred against Antipater's family, and to excite public opinion against Cassander who was said to have administered the poison; (b) equal suspicion attaches to the testimony of Antigonus, which must belong to the time when he was at enmity with Cassander, though we do not know whether he made any charge against

βοα,<sup>1</sup> where he had a country house, to which he had sometimes retired before,<sup>2</sup> and his enemies could only inflict on him unimportant insults.<sup>3</sup> To Theophrastus<sup>4</sup> he gave over his teaching work at the Lyceum, as a substitute during his absence. But it was not given

place spoken of by Homer where *ῥγχνη ἐπ' ῥγχνην γηράσκει, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σῦκῳ*, in allusion to the sycophants, are quoted by DIOG. 9; ÆLIAN, iii. 36; ORIGEN, *ut supra*; EUSTATH. in *Odys.* H 120, p. 1573; AMMON. p. 48; *V. Marc.* 8; *Ammon. Latin.* 17, the last mentioned placing them in a letter to Antipater. FAVORINUS, *apud* DIOG. 9, says the Homeric line occurred in a written *Apologia*, which is known also to the *Anon. Menag.* and to ATHEN. xv. 697 a, both of whom doubt its genuineness. One does not see why Aristotle, once in safety, should write a useless defence. It was no doubt a rhetorical exercise in imitation of the Socratic *Apologia* (cf. the fragment given by Athenæus with PLAT. *Apol.* 26 D sq.).

<sup>1</sup> Apollodor. *apud* DIOG. 10 is made to say that this was in Ol. 114, 3, *i.e.* in the latter half of 322 B.C. This is improbable, for Strabo (x. 1, 11) and Heraclides *ap.* DIOG. x. 1 speak as if he lived a considerable time in Chalcis; and besides it is more likely that the attack on Aristotle happened in the first uprising against the Macedonian party than that it was begun after Antipater's decisive victories in Thessaly, and that Aristotle fled in good time instead of waiting through the whole of the Lamian war. Probably, therefore, he left Athens late in the summer of 323, and Apollodorus only said

what we find in DIONYS. *Ep. ad Amm.* i. 5, that Aristotle died in Ol. 114, 3, having fled to Chalcis. It is not possible to assume (with STAHE, i. 147) an earlier emigration of Aristotle to Chalcis, on the authority of the statement of Heraclides that Aristotle was living in Chalcis when Epicurus came to Athens, *τελευτήσαντος δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου . . . μετελθεῖν* [*Ἐπικούρου*] *εἰς Καλοφῶνα*. For Aristotle's flight was due only to the danger that threatened him at Athens, which arose only on Alexander's unexpected death; and he cannot therefore have gone to Chalcis before the news reached Athens, in the middle of 323. Either Heraclides or Diogenes must be inexact. The Pseudo-Ammonius (cf. p. 25, n. 5 *supra*) and David (*Schol. in Ar.* 26 b. 26) assign impossible dates.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. STRABO, x. 1, 11, p. 448.

<sup>3</sup> In a fragment of a letter to Antipater probably of this time (*ap.* ÆLIAN, *V. H.* xiv. 1, cf. p. 44, n. 4 *infra*) Aristotle makes mention *τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ψηφισθέντων μοι καὶ ὧν ἀφήρημαι νῦν*. What this was—whether a monument, *proëdria*, or other honorary privilege—we do not know. If it was given him by Athens, it may be connected with the services noticed p. 24, n. 3, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> DIOG. v. 36 and following lines, SUID. s. v. *Θεόφρ.*

to Aristotle to enjoy his retirement long. In the following year, that is, in the summer of 322 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, he succumbed to a disease from which he had long suffered.<sup>2</sup> So it chanced that of his two great contemporaries he survived Alexander by less than a year, and predeceased Demosthenes only by a short interval. His body is said to have been taken to Stagira.<sup>3</sup> His last will is preserved to us,<sup>4</sup> and it is a monument of his

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. *ap.* DIOG. 10, V. *Marc.* 3, *Ammon. Latin.* 12, and DION. *Ep. ad Amm.* i. 5, give OL. 114, 3 as the year. It was about the time of Demosthenes' death (APOLLOD. *ibid.*), but a little earlier (GELL. *N. A.* xvii. 21, 35). As that date is given by PLUT. (*Dem.* 30) as the 16th of Pyanepsion OL. 114, 3 = Oct. 14, 322, Aristotle must have died between July and Sept. of that year.

<sup>2</sup> That he died by illness is stated by Apollod. and Dionys. *ut supra*; cf. GELL. xiii. 5, 1. Censorin. (*Di. Nat.* 14, 16) adds: *hunc ferunt naturalem stomachi infirmitatem crebrasque morborum corporis offensiones adeo virtute animi diu sustentasse, ut magis mirum sit ad annos sexaginta tres eum vitam protulisse, quam ultra non pertulisse.* The statement of Eumelus *ap.* DIOG. 6 (*de quo* v. p. 2, n. 2, p. 6, n. 3 *supra*) followed by the Anon. Menag. and Suidas, that he poisoned himself with hemlock, or (as Hesych. has it) that he was condemned to drink hemlock, is probably a confusion with the death of Demosthenes or of Socrates. It cannot be historic, because the best evidence is against it, because it is contrary to Aristotle's own principles (*Eth. N.* ii. 11, 1116 a,

12, v. 15 *init.*, ix. 4, 1166 b, 11), and because it does not fit the circumstances, for in Eubœa he was in no danger. The tale (found only in *ÆLIAS CRETENSIS*, p. 507 D) that he threw himself into the Euripus because he could not discover the causes of his visions, and the variant of the same in JUSTIN. cohort. 36, GREG. NAZ. *Or.* iv. 112, or PROCOF. *De Bello Goth.* iv. 579, that his fruitless meditations on a vision wore him out with worry and fatigue, need no refutation, though Bayle (art. Aristotle, n. Z) thinks the latter a fitting end; cf. STAHR, i. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Related only by V. *Marc.* 4 and *Ammon. Latin.* 13, and with the addition that an altar was built on his grave and the council meetings held there; and that a festival (*Ἀριστοτέλεια*) was instituted and a month named after him. The evidence is not good; but as he was not only the most illustrious citizen but also the re-founder of Stagira (cf. DIO. *Or.* 47, 224, who says that Aristotle alone had the fortune to be *τῆς πατρίδος οἰκιστῆς*) the story is not wholly improbable.

<sup>4</sup> *Apud* DIOG. 11 sq; probably (cf. v. 64) taken, like the wills of Theophrastus, Strato, and Lyco, from Aristo, a noted

faithful attachment and careful provision for all who were connected with him, including his slaves. Theo-

Peripatetic *circ.* 200-250 (*lege* 'Αρίστων ὁ Κείος), who will be mentioned in his place. Hermippus (*circ.* 200-220) cited the same record (*v.* ATHEN. xiii. 589 c.), which according to *V. Marc.* 8, and *Ammon. Latin.* 17 was also quoted by Andronicus and Ptolemaeus for the catalogues of Aristotle's writings, *de q. infra*. *V. Marc.* says Aristotle left a διαθήκη . . . ἣ φέρεται παρὰ τε Ἀνδρονίκῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μετὰ [τῶν] πινάκ[ων] τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων (*Ammon. Latin.* 'cum voluminibus suorum tractatumum;' cf. HEITZ, *Verh. Schr. d. Ar.* 34). The external evidence for the will is therefore good; the more because it is likely that the wills of Aristotle and his followers would be carefully preserved by the Peripatetic school (for which those of Theoph., Strato, and Lyco were a kind of foundation charter), and because Aristo was himself the immediate successor of Lyco. The document has also all internal signs of genuineness, and the objections which have been urged against it (cf. GRANT, 26) prove little. It is objected that it mentions neither a house in Athens nor a library, both of which Aristotle possessed. A forger, however, would never have omitted the latter, which was the thing of chief interest for the school; but it is very possible that Aristotle had already made arrangements about it, which did not require to be repeated in the extant will, that being rather a set of directions to friends than, like the three

others quoted, a regular disposition of his whole property. Grant thinks it unlikely that Pythias was not yet marriageable or that Nicomachus was a lad; but this is not so. Why may not Aristotle's wife Pythias, perhaps after the death of older children, have borne him a daughter ten years after their marriage? or why might Aristotle not have by a second wife, for whose remarriage he provides, a son who would be a lad when his father was sixty-three? Besides, we know from other sources that the education of Nicomachus was taken over by Theophrastus. The naming of Antipater arouses in Grant a suspicion that the forger inserted him as a historic name; but it is clearly natural that Aristotle might appoint him in order to place the carrying out of his directions for the benefit of those depending on him under the protection of his powerful friend. And this is all that is meant when he is named first in the honorary position of ἐπίτροπος πάντων, whereas the carrying out of the business provisions of the will is left to Theophrastus and the other ἐπιμεληταί. Objection is taken to the provisions for four statues of animals which Aristotle is said to have vowed to Zeus Soter and Athene the Preserver, for Nicanor's safety (DIOG. 16), as being an imitation of the Socratic votive offering for Asclepius (PLAT. *Phaed.* 118, A). This, however, is far-fetched and the point is unimportant. Little as

phrastus he named as the chief of his school,<sup>1</sup> and to him he left the best part of his inheritance, his books.<sup>2</sup>

We are but poorly informed as to the personal traits of Aristotle's character. Excepting a few details as to his personal appearance,<sup>3</sup> almost the only statements we possess are the attacks of his enemies. Most of these charges have already been shown to be worthless—such as those concerning his relations with Plato, with Hermias, with his two wives, and with Alexander, his alleged misconduct in youth, and the political turpitude of his later years.<sup>4</sup> What remains of the stories told

Aristotle believed in vows or in the mythic personalities of Zeus and Athene, yet it is quite natural that he should erect a monument of his love for his adopted son in their common home, Stagira (to which the statues were to be sent), in a fashion which accorded with Greek custom. He himself in *Ethics* iv. 5 reckons votive monuments and offerings among the forms in which the virtue of *μεγαλοπρέπεια* shows itself.

<sup>1</sup> The pretty story as to the way in which he expressed his choice is well known (GELL. *N. A.* xiii. 5, where 'Eudemus' must be substituted for 'Menedemus'). It is quite credible, and not unlike Aristotle.

<sup>2</sup> STRABO, xiii. 1, 54, p. 608; PLUT. *Sulla*, c. 26; ATHEN. i. 3, a, with which cf. DIOG. v. 52.

<sup>3</sup> DIOG. 2 calls him *ισχυροσκελής* and *μικρόματος*, and an abusive epigram in the Anthology (iii. 167, Jac.), which deserves no weight, *σικκρός*, *φαλακρός*, and *προγάστωρ*. We hear of a lisp in pronouncing R, to which the word *τραυλός* (*αρ.* DIOG. 2, ANON.

MENAG., SUID., PLUT. *Aud. Poet.* 8, p. 26, and *Adulat.* 9, p. 53) refers. Pausanias (vi. 4, 5) mentions a statue said to be of Aristotle; as to others, v. STAHR, i. 161 sq., and as to those extant, especially the life-size sitting statue in the Palazzo Spada at Rome, r. SCHUSTER, *Erhalt. Portr. d. griech. Philos.* Leipz. 1876, p. 16, where they are photographed. The sitting statue has a lean face, earnest and thoughtful, showing the lines of severe mental labour, and with a delicate, clear-cut profile. It impresses us with its life-like truth to nature, and the workmanship is so excellent that it may well be an original work dating from the time of Aristotle or his immediate successor. Directions are given in Theophrastus' will (DIOG. v. 51) that the *Μουσείον* begun by him should be finished: *ἔπειτα τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκόνα τεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναθήματα ὅσα πρότερον ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*, which probably is to be understood of a statue already erected.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 8 sq.; 19, n. 4; 20, n. 1, 2; 33, n. 4; 35, n. 1, 5,

by his many enemies<sup>1</sup> has for the most part little probability.<sup>2</sup> Nor do the accounts we have give us any right to lay to Aristotle's charge either a self-seeking sort of shrewdness, or a jealous and little-minded greed for fame.<sup>3</sup> The first of these charges concerns chiefly his relations with the Macedonian rulers. The second refers to the criticisms he allows himself to make in writing of his cotemporaries and his forerunners. But it cannot be proved that he ever sought the favour of Philip and

*supra*. Another calumny is Tertullian's *Ar. familiarem suum Hermiam turpiter loco excedere fecit* (*Apologet.* 46), which in the context can only mean he betrayed him, a tale so senseless and wicked that it required a Tertullian to invent it. The story of Philo of Byblos *ap. SUID. Παλαίφ.*, as to immoral relations with the historian Palæphatus of Abydos is equally baseless.

<sup>1</sup> THEMIST. *Orat.* xxiii. 285 talks of a *στροφὴς ὄλος* of Aristotle's calumniators. By him, Aristocl. (*ap. EUS.* xv. 2) and Diogenes (11, 16) the following are named: Epicurus, Timæus, Eubulides, Alexinus, Cephisorus, Lyco, Theocritus of Chios, Demochares, and Dicæarchus, within a generation of Aristotle.

<sup>2</sup> Such as the accusations to be found in ARISTOCL. and DIOG., *ut supra*; SUID. 'Αριστ.; ATHEN. viii. 342, xiii. 566; PLIN. *H. N.* xxxv. 16, 2; ÆLIAN, *V. H.* iii. 19; THEODORET, *Cur. Gr. Aff.* xii. 51, p. 173; LUCIAN, *Dial. Mort.* 13, 5, and *Paras.* 36; that Aristotle was a glutton, and for that reason went to the

Macedonian Court and flattered Alexander, and that at his death 75 (or even 300) dishes were found in his house: or that he was immoral in relation to Pythias and Herpyllis, and was also enamoured of Theodectes of Phaselis: and again that he was so effeminate that he bathed in warm oil (doubtless for medical reasons, cf. DIOG. 16 and p. 37, n. 2, *supra*), and so miserly that he sold the oil afterwards: or that in his youth he was too fashionable for a philosopher (which, as he was rich and brought up at Court, is possible): and that he was impudent and sneering. If there were any facts underlying these stories, we may conclude from the character of the narrators that they were in any case trivial; and we can see in the passages of Lucian and Theodoret and his quotation from Atticus how Aristotle's own statements as to wealth and pleasure were twisted to support these suspicions.

<sup>3</sup> Even Stahr (i. 173 sq) pays too much attention to these charges.



Alexander by unworthy means,<sup>1</sup> and it was not to be expected that he should applaud or imitate the follies of a Callisthenes. To impute it to him as an offence, that he attached himself to the Macedonian party, is to apply to him an erroneous and inapplicable standard. By birth and training he was a Greek. But while all his personal ties attached him to the royal house to which he and his father owed so much, no one can say that the consideration of the general position of politics ought necessarily to have turned him against their policy. So satisfied was Plato of the untenable character of the existing political relations, that he had advocated sweeping changes. Plato's follower could the less evade the same conviction, since he had a keener insight into men and things, and had clearly detected the conditions on which the vitality of States and forms of government depends. With his practical acumen he could not put his trust in the Platonic ideal of a State; he was forced to seek the materials for a political reconstruction from among the political relations as they were and the powers already existing. At that day no

<sup>1</sup> Stahr thinks it sounds like flattery when Aristotle writes to Alexander (*Arist. Fragm.* No. 611, *apud* ÆLIAN, *V. H.* xii. 54) ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ οὐ πρὸς ἴσους (I. ἡσούς with Rutgers, Rose and Heitz) ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους γίνεσθαι, σὺ δὲ οὐδὲς ἴσος, but if this is genuine Aristotle said no more than the truth, and he wrote, according to Ælian, in order to appease Alexander's wrath against certain persons, for which purpose he tells him that one cannot be

angry with inferiors, and that he stood above all men, which was surely true of the conqueror of the Persian Empire. We cannot tell whether the letter is genuine. Heitz (*Verlor. Schr. d. Arist.* 287) suggests that this fragment does not agree with that in Plut. (*Tranqu. An.* 13, p. 472; *Arist. Fragm.* 614, 1581, b) in which Aristotle is made to compare himself with Alexander, but the letter is much the more doubtful of the two.

new foundation could be found except in the Macedonian kingdom, for the Greek States were no longer able at once to maintain their independence against the foreigner and to reform their inner life. The whole course of history so far had proved this so conclusively, that even a Phocion was forced to say, in the Lamian War, that unless the moral conditions of Greece were altered there was nothing to be expected from an armed rising against Macedon.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless such a conviction would come far less readily to an Athenian statesman than to a friend of the Macedonian kings, who was a citizen of a small city like Stagira, once destroyed by Philip, and then reorganised as a Macedonian town. Can we blame him if he accepted that view, and, with a just appreciation of the political situation, attached himself to that party which alone had a future, and from which alone, if from any, Greece could still find salvation from the dissension and decay within, and the loss of power to face the enemy without? Can we condemn him if he felt that the old independence of the Greek cities must come to an end, when its basis in the civic virtue of their citizens was gone? Can we object if he believed that in his pupil Alexander was fulfilled the condition under which he held that monarchy was natural and just<sup>2</sup>—where one man stands out so clearly beyond all others in efficiency as to make their equality with him impossible? Can we complain if he preferred to see the hegemony of Hellas rather in the hands of such a man than in those of the ‘great king’ of Persia, for whose favour the Greek cities had

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. *Phoc.* 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Polit.* iii. 13 *fin.*

been bidding against each other ever since the Peloponnesian War, and hoped that he would give the Hellenes the only thing they lacked to become the rulers of the world—a political unity?<sup>1</sup>

As for the charge of jealousy of others' fame, it is true that his philosophical polemics are often cutting and sometimes unfair. But they never take on any personal colour, and it would be impossible to prove that they ever rest on any other motive than the desire to make his point as sharply, and establish it as completely as possible. If he does sometimes give us the impression of insisting on his own discoveries, we ought to set off against this the conscientiousness with which he seeks out every seed of truth, even the remotest, in the work of his predecessors; and remembering this, we shall find that all that remains is but a very intelligible and very pardonable self-appreciation.

Still less—to pass over minor matters<sup>2</sup>—need we attach any importance to the allegation that Aristotle hoped soon to see philosophy completed.<sup>3</sup> If he did, it would have been only the same self-deception of which many other thinkers have been guilty, including some who have not been, as he was, the teachers of mankind

<sup>1</sup> *Polit.* vii. 7, 1327 b, 29, reckoning the merits of the Greek race: διόπερ ἐλευθέρον τε διατελεῖ καὶ βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον καὶ δυνάμενον ἔρχεσθαι πάντων μᾶλλον τυγχάνον πολιτείας.

<sup>2</sup> Like the tale told by Valer. Max. viii. 14, 3, as a proof of Aristotle's *sitis in capessenda laude*, which is plainly an idle invention based on a misunder-

standing of the *Rhet. ad Alex.* c. 1 *fin.* (cf. *Rhet.* iii. 9, 1410 b, 2).

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 28, 69: *Aristoteles reteres philosophos accusans qui existimavissent philosophiam suis ingeniiis esse perfectam, ait eos aut stultissimos aut gloriosissimos fuisse: sed se videre, quod paucis annis magna accessio facta esset, brevi tempore philosophiam plane absolutam fore.*

for tens of centuries. In fact, the remark seems to have occurred in an early work of Aristotle's,<sup>1</sup> and to have related not to his own system but to Plato's, which professed to open out a prospect of an early completion of all science.<sup>2</sup>

So far as Aristotle's philosophical writings, the scanty fragments of his letters, the provisions of his will, and our incomplete accounts of his life afford us any picture of his personality, we cannot but honour him. Nobility of principles, a just moral sense, a keen judgment, a susceptibility to all beauty, a warm and lively feeling for family life and friendship, gratitude towards benefactors, affection for relatives, benevolence to slaves and those in need,<sup>3</sup> a loyal love for his wife, and a lofty conception of marriage far transcending the traditional theories of Greece—such are the traits that we can see. They all carry us back to that faculty of moral tact to which in his *Ethics* he reduced all virtue, backed as it was in him by a wide knowledge of men and by deep reflection. We are bound to suppose that the principles he asserts in his *Ethics* were the guides of his own life,<sup>4</sup> the recoil from all manner of one-sidedness and excess, and the orderly

<sup>1</sup> In the dialogue *Περὶ φιλοσοφίας*, to which it is rightly referred by Rose (*Ar. Fr.* No. 1) and Heitz (*Ar. Fr.* p. 33).

<sup>2</sup> As Bywater (*Journ. of Philol.* vii. 69) also says. In Aristotle's extant works he often refers to the need of further investigation.

<sup>3</sup> As to the former, cf. his will, which provides *inter alia* that none of those who had

personally served him should be sold, and that several should be freed and even started in life. As to the latter, cf. his saying, *ap. DIOG. 17, οὐ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡλέησα*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. his expressions in the Letter to Antipater, *ap. ÆLIAN, V. H.* xiv. 1 and *ap. DIOG. 18*. In the former fragment he says as to the withdrawal of former honours (*de g. v.* p. 36, n. 3,

appreciation of things which despises nothing that has its roots in human nature, but attributes an absolute value only to the spiritual and moral factors of life. And if his character, so far as we know it, and in spite of any little weaknesses which may have attached to it, seems to us lofty and honourable, still more are his powers and intellectual achievements altogether astounding. Never have so great a wealth of knowledge, so careful powers of observation, and so untiring a zeal for acquisition, been found in combination with such keenness and power of scientific thinking, with a philosophic insight so capable of piercing into the essence of things, with a width of view so fully capable of at once seeing the unity and coherence of all knowledge, and embracing and subordinating all its branches. In poetic swing, in richness of fancy, in the insight of genius, he cannot compete with Plato. His powers lay wholly on the side of knowledge, not of art.<sup>1</sup> That fascinating witchery of speech with which Plato holds us is hardly ever to be found in the extant works of the Stagirite, though many of those that are lost are praised, doubtless with justice, for their literary grace.<sup>2</sup> But he outstrips his master in all those qualities which mark the full manhood of science—in width and solidity

*supra*) οὕτως ἔχω, ὥς μήτε μοι σφόδρα μέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε μοι μηδὲν μέλειν; in the latter, as to one who had reviled him behind his back: ἀπόντα με καὶ μαστιγοῦντω.

<sup>1</sup> The few poetic attempts we have show no great gift. On the other hand his wit was noted (DEMETR. *De Eloc.* 128), and the apophthegms (*ap.* DIOG.

17 sq.) and the fragments of letters (*ap.* DEMETR. 29, 233) give proof of it. That it went with a tendency to banter and sauciness of speech (ἔκαιρος στωμυλία), as Ælian (*V. H.* iii. 19) tells us of him in his youth, is possible, though not proved by the existing testimony.

<sup>2</sup> *De quo infra.*

of research, in purity of scientific method, in ripeness of judgment, in wary discrimination, in his compact brevity and inimitable keenness of statement, and in the definite use and comprehensive development of a scientific terminology. He cannot inspire us, lay hold of our hearts, weld in one the scientific and the moral energies, at all in the same way as Plato does. His work is drier, more professional, more closely confined to the field of cognition than Plato's had been. But within these lines he has, so far as one man might, achieved success. For thousands of years he showed philosophy her way. For the Greeks he inaugurated the age of learning. In every field of knowledge then open to him he enriched the sciences by original investigations, and advanced them by new conceptions. Even if we put at their highest possible measure the help he derived from his forerunners, and the assistance he obtained from scholars and friends, and perhaps also from trained slaves,<sup>1</sup> the range of his achievements still runs so far beyond the common standard, that we can scarcely understand how one man in a short life could accomplish it all, especially since we know that his restless soul had to wring from a weakly body the needful vitality for this gigantic work.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle has fulfilled his historic vocation and solved the philosophic task it set him, as scarce any other ever did. Of what he was as a man we know unhappily too little, but we

<sup>1</sup> Callisthenes of Babylon is said to have sent him information of astronomical observations there (SIMPL. *De Cælo*, Schol. 503, a, 26, following Porph.), but

the story is suspicious because of the addition that these observations went back 31,000 years.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 37, n. 2, and DIOG. v. 16.

have no reason to believe the attacks of his foes, or to refuse to accord to him that favourable judgment which his own *Ethics* with many subsidiary indications must demand.

## CHAPTER II

## ARISTOTLE'S WRITINGS

A.—*Consideration of the particular works seriatim*

THE literary activity of Aristotle startles us at the outset both by its extent and its manysidedness. The works which we have under his name extend over all branches of philosophy, and they exhibit a vast wealth of wide observation and historical learning. Yet to these extant works the ancient catalogues add a great number of others, of which only the titles or slight fragments now remain. Two of these catalogues we have: the first in two recensions, that by Diogenes (V. 21 sqq.), and that called the 'Anonymus Menagii': the other in certain Arabic texts.<sup>1</sup> The first list contains, in Diogenes, 146 titles, most <sup>2</sup> of which the 'Anonymus' <sup>3</sup> has preserved, leaving out <sup>4</sup> a few <sup>5</sup> and adding seven or eight new ones. An appendix adds forty-seven titles—many of which,<sup>6</sup> however, are only repetitions or variants of those already entered—and ten Pseudepigrapha.

<sup>1</sup> See both in the *Arist. Fragm.* of Rose and Heitz (*Ar. Opp.* v. 1463, Berlin ed., iv. b, 1 sq., Paris ed.)

<sup>2</sup> According to the earlier text 111, but as completed by Rose from an Ambrosian MS. 132.

<sup>3</sup> According to Rose's probable conjecture (*Ar. Libr. Ord.*

48) he was Hesychius of Miletus, who lived about 500.

<sup>4</sup> As to the possible grounds of this omission cf. HEITZ, *Verlor. Schr. Arist.* p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> 14 by one text, 27 by the other.

<sup>6</sup> If our count is right there are 9, *i.e.* Nos. 147, 151, 154, 155, 167, 171, 172, 174, 182, repeating



Both the sources agree in putting the total number of books at nearly 400.<sup>1</sup> The author of the first catalogue cannot be (as Rose imagines<sup>2</sup>) identified with Andronicus of Rhodes, the well-known editor and arranger of Aristotle's works,<sup>3</sup> though it is not to be doubted that that Peripatetic did compile a catalogue of Aristotle's writings.<sup>4</sup> For even if we could set aside the fact that Andronicus is said to have given the total number at 1,000 books,<sup>5</sup> and the circumstance that the extant index includes<sup>6</sup> the *Περὶ ἐμπυρίας*, which he rejected,<sup>7</sup> it remains clear that we should look to find in Andronicus's edition those writings above all that are included in our extant *Corpus Aristotelicum*, which is derived, speaking broadly, from his own. This is far from being true of the extant catalogues, for many important parts of the extant *Corpus* are either altogether absent or at least are not to be traced under

Nos. 106, 7, 111, 91, 98, 16, 18, 39 and 11 of the main list.

<sup>1</sup> DIOG. 34, and the ANON. MENAG. at the beginning of his list. The titles in Diog. (reckoning the Letters as one book for each correspondent named and the *Πολυτελεία* as a single book) give 375 books; those in the ANON. as completed by Rose, 391.

<sup>2</sup> *Arist. Pseudepigr.* 8 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* Pt. iii. a, 549, 3 (2nd edition).

<sup>4</sup> This is clear from the above-mentioned passage of PLUT. (*Sulla*, 26) from the V. Marc. 5 (cf. p. 37, n. 4. *supra*), and David, *Schol. in Ar.* 24. a. 19. It is not credible that Andronicus merely adopted the catalogue of Hermippus (c. HEITZ, *Ar. Fr.* 12,

which did not at all correspond with his own work. A similar catalogue of the writings of Theophrastus is ascribed to him by the Scholia at the end of his *Metaphysics* and at the beginning of the seventh book of the *Hist. of Plants*.

<sup>5</sup> DAVID, *Schol. in Ar.* 24, a, 19.

<sup>6</sup> This is the more remarkable because we gather from DIOG. 34 that the catalogue was to include only works recognised as genuine. BERTAGN (Dial. d. Ar. 133), therefore supposes that the book was inserted in the catalogue of Andronicus by a later hand.

<sup>7</sup> ALEX. in Arist. *Ph.* 52.

ness is doubtful or which are certainly forged, there is very little left. A few poems and poetic fragments,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps some part of the matter said to be cited from his *Letters*,<sup>2</sup> may stand. The so-called *Apologia* of Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> and the *Orations* in praise of Plato and Alexander,<sup>4</sup> must be rhetorical inventions of later date.

for that of Heitz in *Ar. Opp.* iv. b, 1 sq. of the Didot edition.

<sup>1</sup> For these, with the notices relating to them, v. BERGHK, *Lyr. Gr.* 504 sq., ROSE, *Ar. Pseud.* 598 sq., *Ar. Fr.* 621 sq., p. 1583, and *Fr. Hz.* 333 sq. The most important are those above cited (p. 12, n. 4, p. 20, n. 3), whose genuineness we have no reason to doubt. D. 145 mentions *ἐπη* and *ἐλεγεία*, and AN. 138; *ἐγκώμια* ἢ *ὑμνους* appear in AN. *App.* 180.

<sup>2</sup> The Letters of Aristotle, praised by DEMETR. *Eloc.* 230, SIMPL. *Categ.* 2 γ, *Schol.* in *Ar.* 27, a, 43, and others (cf. ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 587, HEITZ, *Verl. Schr.* 285, and *Ar. Fr.* 604-620, p. 1579, *Fr. Hz.* 321 sq.) as the high-water mark of epistolary style, were collected in eight books by one Artemon, otherwise unknown (v. DEMETR. *Eloc.* 223, DAVID, *Schol.* in *Ar.* 24, a, 26, and PT. No. 87). Andronicus is said to have reckoned twenty books (PT. No. 90, cf. GELL. xx. 5, 10), but perhaps it was only twenty letters, which is the number in AN. 137. D. 144 names letters to Philip, letters to the Selybrians, four letters to Alexander (cf. DEMETR. *Eloc.* 234, *Ps. Anm.* 47), nine to Antipater, and seven to others. The letters of or to Diareus (*de quo* v. SIMPL. *Phys.* 120), mentioned by PHILOP. *De An.* K. 2, are not in D. All

extant Fragments seem to come from the editions of Artemon and Andronicus. It is difficult to say if any are genuine, since some are certainly not. Not only Rose (*Ar. Ps.* 585, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 113) but also Heitz (*Verl. Schr.* 280, *Fr. Hz.* 321) considers all the letters forged. That the six now extant (*ap.* STAHR, *Ar.* ii. 169, and *Fr. Hz.* 329) are so is clear, and Heitz holds that they could not even have been in Artemon's collection.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 35, n. 3, *supra*; *Ar. Fr.* 601, p. 1578; *Fr. Hz.* 320.

<sup>4</sup> An *Ἐγκώμιον Πλάτωνος* is quoted by Olympiod. in *Gorg.* 166 (v. *Jahrb. f. Philol.*, Suppl., xiv. 395, and *Ar. Fr.* 603, *Fr. Hz.* 319); but it is more than suspicious, since no one used what would have been the best source of Platonic biography. A Panegyric on Alexander *ap.* THEMIST. *Or.* iii. 55 (*Ar. Fr.* 602, *Fr. Hz.* 319) is condemned by the *Fr. ap.* RUTIL. LUPUS, *De Fig. Sent.* i. 18, if that belongs to it, Bernays' theory of another Alexander (*Dial. Ar.* 156) being very improbable. An *Ἐγκλησις Ἀλεξάνδρου* is named by AN. (No. 193) as spurious. Books Π. *Ἀλεξάνδρου* are ascribed by Eustath. *ap.* DIONYS. *Per.* v. 1140, and AN. *App.* 176, to Aristotle through some confusion between his name and Arrian's. Cf. HEITZ, *Verl. Schr.*

A second section of the writings may include those which dealt with scientific questions, but were yet essentially distinct in form from all the extant treatises, namely, the *Dialogues*.<sup>1</sup> We have repeated proofs<sup>2</sup> that Aristotle, in one class of his works, did make use of the form of dialogue. It is said that his Dialogues differed from those of Plato in the fact that the individuality of the persons conversing was not carried through,<sup>3</sup> and that the author kept the lead of the conversation in his own hands.<sup>4</sup> Of the known works of this kind, the *Eudemus*,<sup>5</sup> the three books *On Philosophy*<sup>6</sup> and the four books *On Jus-*

291, and MÜLLER, *Script. rer. Alex.* pref. v.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BERNAYS, *Dialogue d. Ar.* (1863), HEITZ, *Verl. Schr.* 141-221, ROSE, *Ar. Pseud.* 23 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. CIC. *Ad Att.* xiii. 19, 4, BASIL. *Ep.* 135 (167) ap. ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 24, PLUT. *Adr. Col.* 14, 4, DIO CHRYS. *Or.* 53, p. 274, ALEX. ap. DAVID, *Schol. in Ar.* 24, b, 33, DAVID, *ibid.* 24, b, 10 sq., 26, b, 35; PHILOP. *ibid.* 35, b, 41, and *De An. E.* 2; PROCL. ap. PHILOP. *Ætern. M.* 2, 2 (cf. *Ar. Fr.* 10) and *In Tim.* 338 d; AMMON. *Categ.* 6, b (ap. STAHR, *Ar.* ii. 255); SIMPL. *Phys.* 2, b; PRISCIAN, *Solut. Proœm.* p. 553 b.

<sup>3</sup> BASIL. *Ep.* 135 (167) ap. ROSE, *Ar. Pseud.* 24. *Ar. Fr.* 1474. HEITZ, 146.

<sup>4</sup> CIC. *ut supra. Ad Quint. Fr.* iii. 5 does not refer to Dialogues. 'Aristotelius mos,' in CIC. *Ad Fam.* i. 9, 23, has a wider sense; and refers to the 'in utramque partem disputare,' cf. *De Orat.* iii. 21, 80; but see HEITZ, 149.

<sup>5</sup> This remarkable Dialogue

(*de q. r.* BERNAYS, 21, 143 etc., and *Rhein. Mus.* xvi. 236 sq., ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 52 sq., *Ar. Fr.* 32-43, p. 1479, *Fr. Hz.* 47) is called ΕΒΔΗΜΟΣ (THEMIST. *De An.* 197, and cf. quotations in *Ar. Fr.* 41), or ΠΕΡΙ ΨΥΧΗΣ (D. 13, AN. 13. PLUT. *Div.* 22), or ΕΒΔΗΜΟΣ ἢ π. ΨΥΧΗΣ (PLUT. *Cons. ad Apud.* 27, p. 115, and *Simpl. ap. Ar. Fr.* 42). We learn from PLUT. *Div.* 22, and CIC. *Dirin.* 1, 25, 53, that it was dedicated to Aristotle's friend, Eudemus, who died in Sicily 352 B.C. (cf. p. 11 n. 4 *supra*), and it was probably written soon after (KRISCHE, *Forsch.* i. 16.). Of the Fragments ascribed to it by Rose, more probable places will be indicated *infra* for Fr. 36, 38, and 43. Aristotle himself seems, in *De An.* i. 4, *init.* to refer to a discussion in the *Eudemus*, cf. *Ar. Fr.* 41.

<sup>6</sup> D. 3, AN. 3 (who by oversight gives four books), BERNAYS, 47, 95, ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 27, *Ar. Fr.* 1-21, p. 1474, HEITZ, *Verl. Schr.* 179 sq., *Fr. Hz.* 30 sq., BYWATER, 'Aristotle'

Arabic copyists in an incomplete form. For while Ptolemy put the total of Aristotle's works at 1,000 Books, their lists comprise only some 100 treatises, counting about 550 Books.<sup>1</sup> Of the component parts of our extant *Corpus* only a few are wanting, and their absence may be partly accidental.<sup>2</sup> Some others are

(Ibn el Kifti, d. 1248, *ap.* ROSE, *ibid.*) says this Ptolemy was an admirer of Aristotle, who wrote a book, *Historia Ar. et Mortis ejus et Scriptorum Ordo*, addressed to As'las (or A'tlas): the other (Ibn Abi Oseibia, d. 1269, *ibid.*) also speaks of his *Liber ad Galas de vita Ar. et eximia pietate testamenti ejus et indice scriptorum ejus notorum*. Both copy from him biographical details as well as the Catalogue, but seem to know no more of him than that he lived 'in provincia Ilum' (i.e. the Roman Empire), and that he was a different person from the author of the *Almagest*. What they say, however, corresponds exactly with what David, *Schol. in Ar.* 22, a, 10 (after Proclus, cf. l. 23), says of a Ptolemy who reckoned the total of Aristotle's books (as did Andronicus, cf. p. 49, n. 5) at 1,000, ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν διδασίαν: and with the remark in *V. Marc.* 8, as to the same, that to his list of Aristotle's works he added his will. David takes this Ptolemy to be Ptolemæus Philadelphus, but this merely proves the ignorance of David, or the pupil who recorded his lectures; though we know that Ptolemæus Philadelphus himself was a collector of Aristotle's works (ATHEN. i. 3, DAVID, and AMMON. *Schol. in Ar.* 28, a, 13, 43), and was a pupil of

Strato (DIOG. v. 58). The fact that the Ptolemy who compiled the Catalogue came after Andronicus is clear from the mention of Andronicus at No. 90, and of Apellicon at No. 86. Of the writers of that name known to us, ROSE (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 45) suggests as the same the Neoplatonist Ptolemæus, named by JAMBL. *ap.* STOB. *Ecl.* i. 904, and by PROCLUS *In Tim.* 7. Another was a contemporary of Longinus, but he is said (by PORPH. *V. Plot.* 20) to have written no scientific works. The most probable identification would be with the Peripatetic Ptolemy, whose attack on a definition of grammar by Dionysius Thrax is quoted by SEXT. MATH. i. 60, and by the Schol. in BEKKER'S *Anecd.* ii. 730, and whose date therefore must lie somewhere between Dionysius and Sextus (70–220 B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> An exact reckoning is not possible without going into the variations of the numbering in the different texts. If the 171 *Politics* were counted separately, they would raise the total to about 720.

<sup>2</sup> The most important omissions are the *Ethics* and the *Economics*; besides which there are the *Rhetoric ad Alex.*, the book upon Melissus, &c.; and the tracts Π. ἀκουστών, Π. ἀναπνοῆς, Π. ἐνυπνίων, Π. μαρτυκῆς τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, Π. νεότητος καὶ γῆρας,

named twice over. The fact that this Arabic catalogue was taken from a Greek original is proved by the Greek titles, often hopelessly miswritten, which are set against most of the items.

It is obvious that catalogues of such a character and origin offer no sufficient security either for the completeness of their reckoning or for the authenticity of the writings they include. Nothing but a full and accurate inquiry into the merits of each case can enable us to decide as to the claims of those texts or fragments which are handed down to us under Aristotle's name. Such an inquiry cannot here be fully carried out; but it will not be out of place to combine with a complete review of all the writings ascribed to Aristotle a concise appreciation of the points to be considered in passing judgment on their authenticity.<sup>1</sup>

To begin at the point where the old catalogues end, we may distinguish from the philosophical treatises those writings which dealt with personal matters—the letters, poems, and occasional pieces. Their number is relatively small; and if we exclude those whose genuine-

Π. δ'ενου καὶ ἐξηγητήσεως, and Π. χρωμάτων; the Π. κόσμου, Π. ἀρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν, Π. θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, and the Φυσιογνωμική. But as No. 40 includes the *De Memoria et Somo*, so it may be that others of the small scientific tracts are bracketed in the list under one title and number.

<sup>1</sup> As to the works known only by titles or fragments, cf. the thorough inquiry of Heitz (*Verlor. Schrift. d. Ar.*, 1865), refuting Val. Rose, whose learned essays, *De Ar. Librorum Ordine et*

*Auctoritate*, 1854, and *Ar. Pseud-epigraphus*, 1863, rejected too summarily all the lost and several of the extant books.—The writings named in the ancient Catalogues will be cited in this chapter by Rose's numbers (p. 48, n. 1); of the Catalogues themselves, that of Diogenes will be cited as D., that of the Anonymus Menagii as AN., and the Ptolemy of the Arabic texts as PT. *Ar. Fr.* will be used for the collection of the fragments by Rose in *Ar. Opp.* v. 1463 sq., Berlin ed.; and *Fr. H.*,

yet distinguished, as it seems, from the strictly scientific treatises by their popular style of treatment. These are (at least in part) ascribable to the same period of Aristotle's work.<sup>1</sup> To that period must also belong

named in the previous note, there are very few as to which we can form an approximate judgment; but there do not seem to be decisive grounds for rejecting any of them.

<sup>1</sup> To the same period with the *Eudemus* belongs also the *Protrepticus* (D. 12; AN. 14; PT. 1)—where it is probably transposed with the Π. φιλοσ. and is therefore said to have three books.—*Ar. Fr.* 47–50, p. 1483; *Fr. Hz.* 46). According to TELES, circa 250 B.C., it was addressed to the Cyprian prince Themiso, and was known to Zeno and to his teacher Crates (v. STOB. *Floril.* 95, 21). ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 68 (with a *fortasse*), BYWATER, *Journ. of Phil.* ii. 55, and USENER, *Rhein. Mus.* xxviii. 372, suppose it to have been a Dial., and BERNAYS, 116, gives no opinion; but HEITZ, *V. S.* 196, and HIRZEL, *Hermes*, x. 61, seem to be right in saying that it was a continuous essay. The reasons are (1) that Teles says 'Ἀρ. προτρεπτικὸν ὃν ἔγραψε πρὸς Θεμισώνα: and although a Dial. like a drama may be *dedicated* to a man, *τινὶ προσγράφειν*, yet it cannot be *written* to anyone, *πρὸς τινὰ γράφειν*: (2) that all other *προτρεπτικοί* that we know were essays and not dialogues; even the pseudo-Platonic *Clitophon*, which got an unsuitable second title of *Προτρεπτικός* (Thrasyll. ap. DIOG. iii. 60), is no exception to this, for it is not a dialogue, but a speech introduced only by

a couple of conversational remarks, which may therefore as properly be called *προτρεπτικός* as *Menæxenus* with its longer conversational preface could be called *ἐπιτάφιος* (Thras. *ibid.*; *Ar. Rhet.* iii. 14, p. 1415, b. 30). If Cicero used it as a model for his *Hortensius* (*Script. Hist. Aug. V. Sal. Gallieni*, c. 2), it may still be questioned whether the dialogue form was part of the imitation. As Usener, *ut supra*, shows, Cicero also used it for the *Somnium Scipionis*, Rep. vi., and, mediately or immediately, Censorinus, *D. Nat.* 18, 11. Bywater, *ut supra*, has also shown (but cf. Hirzel) that Jamblicus used it for his own *Protrepticus*.—Of a kindred nature apparently was the Π. παιδείας (D. 19; AN. 10; PT. 4; *Ar. Fr.* 51, p. 1484; *Ar. Ps.* 72; HEITZ, *V. S.* 307, *Fr. Hz.* 61). As no fragments are preserved, we cannot tell whether the Π. ἡδονῆς (D. 16, cf. 66; AN. 15; PT. 16; HEITZ, *V. S.* 203; *Fr. Hz.* 59) was a dialogue or not. The book Π. βασιλείας (D. 18; AN. 16; PT. 7; *Ar. Fr.* 78, 79, probably also 81, p. 1489; *Fr. Hz.* 59), which was addressed to Alexander, and apparently referred to by Eratosthenes (ap. STRABO, i. 4, 9, p. 66), was more probably an essay (v. HEITZ, *V. S.* 204) than a dial. (ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 93, and BERNAYS, 56). On the other hand, the title 'Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ ὅτι περὶ ἀπολίκων [-κίων], if the text

the treatise *On the Good*.<sup>1</sup> It was an account of the substance of Plato's lectures,<sup>2</sup> and what little is recorded from or of it gives no reason to doubt its genuineness.<sup>3</sup>

be correct, rather suggests a dial. (D. 17; *Ar. Fr.* 80; BERNAYS, 56; *Fr. Hz.* 61. HEITZ, *V. S.* 204, 207, suggests πρὸς Ἀλέξ. ὑπὲρ ἀποίκων καὶ π. βασιλείας. A preferable conjecture would be, ὑπ. ἀποίκων α'. π. βασιλείας α'). Other fragments which Rose places among the Dials. will be referred to *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> The Π. τὰγαθὸν consisted, according to D. 20, of three books; AN. 20, one book; PT. 8, five books: ALEX. *ad Metaph.* iv. 2, 1003 b, 36, 1004 b, 34, 1005 a, 2 repeatedly quotes Book II., and the regular form of citation is ἐν τοῖς π. τὰγ. Apart from the Catalogues, we never hear of this work except in the Aristotelian Commentators, whose notices are collected and discussed by BRANDIS, 'Perd. Ar. Libr. de Ideis et de Bono,' *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 1, 84; KRISCHE, *Forsch.* i. 263; ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 46, *Ar. Fr.* 22-26, p. 1477, and HEITZ, *V. S.* 209, *Fr. Hz.* 79. Brandis (*ibid.*) has shown that none of them except Alexander possessed the work itself. Heitz, p. 203, doubts this even as to Alex., because he in one place (p. 206, 19) distinguishes the ἐκλογή τῶν ἐναντίων noticed *Ar. Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004 a, 2 (*de q. infra*) from the second book Π. τὰγαθοῦ, and in another place (p. 218, 10, 14) identifies them. These passages seem, however, only to show that Alexander knew of no ἐκλ. τ. ἐν. as a separate book, but saw in the second book Π. τὰγ. a discussion to which, as far as the sense went, Aristotle might be referring, so

that he was not sure whether Aristotle's reference referred to the Π. τὰγ. or to a special work. If so, this makes rather for than against Alexander's knowledge of the Π. τὰγαθοῦ. SIMPL. *De An.* 6, b, PHILOP. *De An.* C. 2 (cf. *Ar. Fr.* p. 1477 b, 35), SUID. *Ἀγαθ.* p. 35, b, believe that the words ἐν τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίας λεγόμενοις in AB. *De An.* i. 2, 404, b, 18, refer to this work, whereas they really refer to Platonic writings (cf. Zeller, II. a. 636, 4). But this proves only that these writers knew the Π. τὰγαθοῦ at second hand. Rose's view that this work was a Dial. is refuted by HEITZ, *V. S.* 217. We cannot tell whether Aristotle published in his lifetime his notes upon the lectures of Plato, or whether they became public after his death. If the ἐκλογή τ. ἐναντ., cited by himself, formed part of them, the former would of course be true. It is clear that the book was in use before the end of the third century B.C., and certainly before the time of Andronicus, because of the mention of it in Diog.'s list; cf. p. 48 sq. *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Referred to by Aristoxenus and others, cf. Zeller, Plato, 26. SIMPL. (*Phys.* 32, b, 104, b, Schol. 334, b, 25, 362, a, 8) mentions, besides Aristotle, Speusippus, Xenocrates, Heraclides and Hestæus as having published the Platonic lectures.

<sup>3</sup> This is against SUSEMIHL, *lat. Phil.* 2, 53; *ad loc.*

There is more doubt about the date of the work *On the Ideas*,<sup>1</sup> which Aristotle apparently refers to in the *Metaphysics*,<sup>2</sup> and which Alexander possessed.<sup>3</sup> The *Extracts* from some of Plato's writings<sup>4</sup> and the monographs on earlier and cotemporary philosophers<sup>5</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> This work is named in D. 54, and AN. 45 (which give it one book only) Π. τῆς ιδέας or Π. ιδέας. We have references, however, by ALEX. in *Metaph.* 564, b, 15 to the 1st book Π. ιδέων, in 573, a, 12 to the 2nd, and in 566, b, 16 to the 4th (but in the last case we may well read A for Δ, with ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 191, *Ar. Fr.* 1509, b, 36). SYRIAN, in *Metaph.* 901, a, 19, 942, b, 21 speaks of a work Π. τῶν εἰδῶν in two books. The same is meant in Pt. 14 by the three books *De imaginibus, utrum existant an non*; but the Arabic title '*fari a'idu'n*' indicates that their Greek text read not Π. εἰδῶν, but Π. εἰδῶλων; cf. ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 185; *Ar. Fr.* 180–184 p. 1508; *Fr. Hz.* 86 sq.

<sup>2</sup> I. 990 b, 8 sq.; we have not only Alexander's statement that this passage refers to the work on Ideas, but it seems to be the natural inference from Aristotle's text itself that he is referring to some more detailed discussion of the Ideal Theory which is already known to his readers.

<sup>3</sup> Rose (*Ar. Ps.* 186) doubts this, but Alexander's own statements (cited in *Ar. Fr.* 183 *fin.*, 184 *fin.*) indicate as much.

<sup>4</sup> Τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων Πλάτωνος (D. 21, as 3 Bks., AN. 23 as 2).—Τὰ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας α' β' (I. 22. PROCL. in *Itēmp.* 350; *Ar. Fr.* 176, p. 1507).—Τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαίου καὶ τῶν Ἀρχυτέων (*alias*: καὶ Ἀρχύ-

του; I. 94; AN. 85; SIMPL. *De Caelo*, Schol. 491, b, 37: σύνοψιν ἢ ἐπιτομὴν τοῦ Τιμαίου γράφειν οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε); cf. *Fr. Hz.* 79.

<sup>5</sup> Π. τῶν Πυθαγορείων, D. 101 AN. 88: no doubt the same as is named *Συναγωγὴ τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἀρεσκόντων* by SIMPL. *De Caelo*, Schol. 492, a, 26 and b, 41 sq.; Πυθαγορικά (*ibid.* 505, a, 24, 35); Πυθαγορικὸς [-ον ?] (THEO. *Arithm.* 5); Π. τῆς Πυθαγορικῶν δόξης (ALEX. *Metaph.* 560, b, 25), and Π. τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας (JAMBL. *V. Pyth.* 31). Probably the separate title Πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορείους, D. 97, is only a part of the same work, as D. gives each of them one book only, while Alexander and Simpl. quote from book 2. The reference in DIOG. viii. 34, cf. 19, probably belongs to this treatise (whether we there read ἐν τῷ περὶ κνύμων, or π. κνύμων only, cf. Cobet). Other notices of the work are collected by ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 193, *Ar. Fr.* 185–200, p. 1510; *Fr. Hz.* 68.—We find also three books Π. τῆς Ἀρχυτείου [-του ?] φιλοσοφίας in D. 92, AN. 83, Pt. 9; cf. *Ar. Ps.* 211, and *Fr. Hz.* 77, and cf. last note. Also Πρὸς τὰ Ἀλκμαίωνος, D. 96, AN. 87; Προβλήματα ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου, 7 (? 2) books, D. 124, AN. 116 (cf. *Ar. Ps.* 213, *Ar. Fr.* 202 p. 1514, *Fr. Hz.* 77); Πρὸς τὰ Μελλίσσου, D. 95, AN. 86; Πρ. τὰ Γοργίου, D. 98, AN. 89; Πρ. τὰ Ξενοφάνους, [-κράτους in MSS.] D. 99; Πρ. τὸ



so far as these were genuine<sup>1</sup>—must, however, have been mostly compiled during Aristotle's first residence in Athens, or at least before his return from Macedonia. A collection of Platonic *Divisions* ascribed to him was no doubt a forgery.<sup>2</sup>

Far above all these in historic importance stand the works which set out the peculiar system of the Master in strict philosophical form. Speaking broadly, it is these alone which have survived the first century A.D., and have

*Zήνωνος*, D. 100 : our treatise *De Melisso*, &c., to which, besides the lost section as to Zeno, another cited at second hand by PHILOP. *Phys.* B. 9 as *Πρ. τὴν Παρμενίδου δόξαν* seems to have belonged. We know that this work was used by Simplicius (cf. Zeller, i. 474 sq.). There was also the *Περὶ τῆς Ξενοκράτους καὶ Ξενοκράτους* [*φιλοσοφίας*], D. 93, AN. 84.

<sup>1</sup> We cannot judge as to the genuineness of several, of which we have the titles only. It is not impossible that Aristotle may have left, among his papers, extracts and criticisms on various philosophic systems written down in the course of his studies, and that recensions of these were published. It is also possible that similar collections may have passed themselves off under his name. That the latter was the case with the tracts in our *Corpus* on the Eleatic School is proved in ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 465 sq. It is more difficult to decide as to the authenticity of the work on the Pythagoreans. If all the fables (see ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 285) which appear in *Fr.* 186, were related as historic fact, the book could not be Aristotle's, but in

view of the character of our informants it is very possible that *they* presented as history what *he* had only stated as a Pythagorean tradition. Similarly the meanings of the Pythagorean symbols (*Fr.* 190 sq.) and the contents of *Fr.* 188, which Isidor. *ap.* CLEMENT. *Strom.* vi. 641 falsely attributes to Aristotle himself, are merely references to Pythagorean theories. The rest of the passages cited from this book as to the Pythagorean system give no reason to reject it. The apparent contradiction between *Fr.* 200 (*ap.* SIMPL. *De Caelo*, Schol. 492, b, 39 sq.) and AR. *De Caelo* ii. 2, 285, b, 25 is quite reconcilable, without following Alexander in assuming a *falsa lectio*, for which, however, *Fr.* 195, *ap.* SIMPL. *ibid.* 492, a, 18, gives some ground.

<sup>2</sup> This is named in the existing lists only by PT. 53, as '*Divisio Platonis*' (formerly mis-translated '*jurjurandum*' or '*testamentum Pl.*'). It was, perhaps, the same as the Aristotelian *διαπίστως* (r. p. 15, n. 2, *infra*) elsewhere mentioned. A similar work, obviously a later reference, of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *...*

thereby transmitted to mediæval and modern times a first-hand knowledge of the Aristotelian philosophy. Their preservation itself is no doubt primarily due to the fact that it was in them that that philosophy was first expounded in the systematic maturity in which he set it forth during the years of his teaching at Athens.

If we take what is now extant or otherwise known to us of this class of works, that which first meets us is the important set of treatises which laid the foundation for all later logic: the *Categories*,<sup>1</sup> the book on

used for the account given of Plato by DIOG. iii. 80, is printed by ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 677-695 (and after him by FR. HZ. 91), under the title, Διαίρεσεις Ἀριστοτέλους, *de q. v.* ZELL., *Ph.d. Gr.* ii. a. 382.

<sup>1</sup> The title of this work by the common (and probably correct) account is *Κατηγορίαι*; but we find it also named as: Π. τῶν Κατηγοριῶν, *Κατηγορίαι δέκα*, Π. τῶν δέκα κατηγοριῶν, Π. τῶν δέκα γενῶν, Π. τῶν γενῶν τοῦ ὄντος, *Κατηγορίαι ἦτοι π. τῶν δέκα γενικωτάτων γενῶν*, Π. τῶν καθόλου λόγων, *Πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν (οἱ τόπων)*; cf. WAITZ, *Arist. Org.* i. 81, SIMPL. *in Cat.* 4, B, and DAVID, *Schol. in Ar.* 30, a, 3. The title *Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων* was known to Andronicus according to SIMPL. *ibid.* 95 ζ, Schol. 81, a, 27, and to Boëthius, *In Præd.* iv. p. 191 (who obviously got his knowledge from the same source as SIMPL., i.e. Porphyry). Herminius, *circa* 160 A.D., preferred it to the ordinary name. David, however, (*Schol.* 81, b, 25), D. 59, and AN. 57 name a book called *Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων*, besides the *Κατηγορίαι*, which is D. 141, AN. 132, PT. 25 b; and do not appear to

think them the same. Andronicus was probably right (*ap. SIMPL. ut supra*, Schol. 81, a, 27) in identifying the title of *Τὰ πρὸ τ. τόπων* with the spurious appendix of the so-called 'Post-predicamenta'; and it may have been invented either, as he supposes, by the writer of that tract, or by some later editor who found the original name, *Κατηγορίαι*, too limited for the treatise as enlarged by the spurious addition. Aristotle himself refers to his theory of the Categories (*De An.* i. 1, 5, 402 a, 23, 410 a, 14, *Anal. Pri.* i. 37, cf. the quotations, *infra*, p. 189, n. 2, q. v.) as known to his readers, and he assumes this in other places also, which seems to indicate that he had dealt with it in a published work. There is a more definite reference in *Eth. N.* ii. 1 *init.* to *Categ.* c. 8 (cf. TRENDLENB. *Hist. Beitr.* i. 174). That in *Eth. Eud.* i. 8, 1217, b 27, may possibly refer not to the *Categ.* but to some work of Eudemus, and those in *Top.* ix., (*Soph. El.*) 4. 22. 166, b, 14. 178, a, 5, no doubt refer to the passage as to categories in *Top.* i. 9, *init.*,

which, however, is itself so brief and undeveloped that it presupposes an early and better account. Simpl. (*Categ.* 4 ζ, *Schol.* 30, b, 36) and David (*Schol.* 30, a, 24) say that Aristotle had also referred to this work in another place—not now extant—under the title of *Karḡyopla* or *Δέκα Καρ.* We are told also that, following Aristotle's example, Eudemus, Theophrastus, and Phantias, wrote not only 'Analytica,' and works 'Π. ἐμπνεύσας,' but also *Karḡyopla* (AMMON. *Schol.* 28, a, 40, and in *q. v.* Porph. 15 m, DAVID, *Schol.* 19, a, 34, 30, a, 5, ANON. *ibid.* 32, b, 32, 94, b, 14; but Brandis in the *Rhein. Mus.* i. 1827, p. 270, rightly denies this as to Theophrastus, and doubts it as to Eudemus). The references in SIMPL. *Cat.* 106, a, 107, a, sq., *Schol.* 89, a, 37, 90, a, 12 do not prove that Strato referred to Aristotle's *Categories*. On the other hand, the ancient critics never doubted the genuineness of the extant book, although they rejected a second recension (*r.* SIMPL. *Categ.* 4 ζ, *Schol.* 39, a, 36; ANON. *ibid.* 33, b, 30; PHILOP. *ibid.* 39, a, 19, 142, b, 38; AMMON. *Cat.* 13, 17, and BOETH. *In Præd.* 113, all following Adrastus, a noted critic *circa* 100 A. D.; cf. *Fr. Hz.* 114). The only doubts suggested are by *Schol.* 33, a, 28 sq., and these apparently were not derived from Andronicus. The internal characteristics of the book, however, are in many ways open to criticisms, which Spengel (*Münchn. Gel. Anz.* 1845, 41 sq.), Rose (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 232 sq.), and Prantl (*Gesch. d. Logik*, i. 90, 5, 204 sq. 243) have used to combat its genuineness, the latter

saying that its compiler might be found 'in any master of a peripatetic school of the age following Chrysippus' (p. 207). Their critical positions, however, are not all tenable. Prantl (*ibid.*) takes exception to the number 10; but in the *Top.* i. 9, the same ten Categories are given, and we know from Dexipp. (*In Categ.* 40, *Schol.* 48, a, 46) and Simpl. (*ibid.* 47, b, 40) that Aristotle named these ten in other works also. It is true that Aristotle generally uses a less number; but that may only mean either that he here adduces all the ten because his object was logical completeness, or that he counted more Categories at an earlier time than he did later. He never assumed, as will be shown later, a fixed number of them. Again, it is objected that the *Karḡy.* speaks of *δεύτεραι οὐσῆαι*; but we find as parallels to this not only *πρώται οὐσῆαι* (e.g. *Metaph.* vii. 7, 13, 1032, b, 2, 1038, b, 10), but also *τρίται οὐσῆαι* (*ibid.* vii. 2, 1028, b, 20, 1043, a, 18, 28). The words of *Karḡy.* c. 5, 2, b, 29: *εἰκότως . . . μόνα . . . τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ γένη δεύτεραι οὐσῆαι λέγονται*, are not to be translated 'the term *δευτ.* οὐσ. is used for genera and species and rightly so,' since it was not commonly so used before Aristotle, but rather, 'there is reason to treat as a second class of substances only genera and species.' Again, when it is remarked in *Karḡy.* c. 7, 8, a, 31, 39, that, strictly speaking, *πρὸς τι* includes those things only which not merely stand in a definite relation to some other thing, but have their essence in such a relation—*οὐς τὸ εἶναι ταῦτ'*

the parts and kinds of propositions,<sup>1</sup> those on

τῷ πρὸς τί πως ἔχειν—there is no need to suspect here any trace of Stoic influence, since the πρὸς τί πως ἔχειν appears also in *AR. Top.* vi. c. 4, 142, a, 29, c. 8, 161, b, 4; *Phys.* vii. 3, 247, a, 2, b, 3, and *Eth. N. i.* 12, 1101, b, 13. It is true, however, that all the objections cannot easily be set aside. Nevertheless, the treatise bears in general a decisively Aristotelian impress; it is closely related to the *Topics* in tone and contents, and the external evidence is heavily in its favour.—The best conclusion seems to be, not that the whole is spurious, but that the seemingly un-Aristotelian elements are to be explained by the assumption that the genuine body of the work extends to c. 9, 11, b, 7 only, but that what followed has dropped out of the recension we possess, and is replaced only by the short note, c. 9, 11, b, 8–14. The so-called ‘Postprædicamenta’ (c. 10–15) were suspected as early as Andronicus (*SIMPL. ut supra*, *Schol.* 81, a, 27; *AMMON. ibid.* 81, b, 37), and Brandis has now proved they are added by another hand (‘Ü. d. Reihenfolge d. Bücher d. *Ar. Org.*,’ *Abh. d. Berl. Akad. Hist. phil. Kl.* 1833, 267, and *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 406). It is another question whether it was compiled from Aristotelian fragments, as he suggests. The concluding paragraph, at c. 9, 11, b, 8–14, reads exactly as if it came in the place of further discussions which the editor cut out, justifying himself by the remark that there was nothing in them which did not appear in the earlier part. In

the body of the work it is probable also that passages have been left out and others added in this recension; but much of the inconsequence of exposition and language may as easily be due simply to the fact that the *Categ.* were the earliest of the logical writings, and were written probably many years earlier than the *Analytics*.

<sup>1</sup> This book, *Π. ἐμνησας*, was in ancient times rejected as not genuine by Andronicus (so *ALEX. Anal. pri.* 52 a, and *Schol. in Ar.* 161 b, 40; *AMMON. De Interpr.* 6 a, and *Schol.* 97 b, 13; *BOETH. ibid.* 97 a, 28; *ANON. ibid.* 94 a, 21; *PHILOP. De An.* A 13, B 4), followed recently by Gumposch (*Log. Schr. d. Ar.*, Leipz. 1839) and Rose (*Ar. Ps.* 232). Brandis (*Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 263 sq., cf. *DAVID, Schol. in Ar.* 24 b, 5) takes it to be an incomplete sketch of the work, to which c. 14 (rejected as early as Ammonius and passed over by Porphyry; cf. *AMMON. De Interpr.* 201 b; *Schol.* 135 b) has probably been added by a later hand. The external evidence for the work is good enough. Not only do all three lists agree in naming it (*D.* 152, *AN.* 133, *PT.* 2), but we are told that Theophrastus referred to it in his essay *Π. καταφάσεως καὶ ἀποφάσεως* (*DIOG.* v. 44; *ALEX. Anal. pri.* 124, *Schol.* 183 b, 1; more explicitly, after Alexander, *BOETH. ibid.* 97, a, 38; *ANON. Schol. in Ar.* 94, b, 13; cf. the *Schol. ap. WAITZ, Ar. Org.* i. 40, who, on *De Interpr.* 17, b, 16, remarks: πρὸς τοῦτο φησιν ὁ Θεόφραστος, etc.; cf. *AMMON. De Interpr.* 73, a, 122, b). It seems

conclusions and scientific method in general,<sup>1</sup> on the

also that Eudemus Π. λέξεις (ALEX. *Anal. pri.* 6, b, *Top.* 38, *Metaph.* 63, 15; ANON. *Schol. in Ar.* 146, a, 24) may have been an imitation of this book (not, as *Schol.* 84, b, 15, wrongly suggests, of the *Categories*; cf. the quotation from Ammon. in preceding note). This last suggestion, however, is uncertain, and the notices as to Theophrastus are not absolutely clear, for the texts show that he did not *name* the Π. ἐρμην. at all. Alexander thought he saw, from the way in which Theophrastus dealt with the subject (*thema*) in his own book, reason to infer that he had Aristotle in mind; but whether he was right in that inference or not, we cannot judge. The *Schol. ap. Waitz* has nothing to show that the reference there quoted from Theophrastus referred to a passage in *this* book, and was not rather a general reference to the frequently recurring Aristotelian law of the excluded middle.—On the other hand, it is singular that while the Π. ἐρμην. is never cited or referred to in any of Aristotle's books (cf. BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 102, a, 27), it cites not only the *First Analytic* (c. 10, 19, b, 31: *Anal.* 46, 51, 6, 36) and the *Topics* (c. 11, 20, 6, 26: *Top.* ix. 17, 175, b, 39), but also the Π. ψυχῆς (c. 1, 16, a, 8), and that for a proposition which neither the ancient opponents of Andronicus nor modern scholars have been able to find in it (cf. BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 97, b, 49, whose suggestion, however, is not satisfactory). Its remarks on Rhetoric and Poetry (c. 4, 17, a, 5) have

no relation to the corresponding treatises of Aristotle. It should be added that the work accords throughout with Aristotle's line of thought, but frequently enlarges in a didactic way on the most elementary points in a fashion which one would suppose Aristotle would not have found necessary at the date at which it must have been written, if by him. The question, therefore, is not only whether it is by Aristotle or by another, but whether it may not, as Grant suggests (*Ar.* 57), have been written out by one of his scholars from oral lectures in which the difficulties of beginners would naturally be kept in view.

<sup>1</sup> Syllogisms are dealt with by the *Ἀναλυτικά πρότερα* in two books, and scientific method by the *Ἀναλ. ὅστερα*, also in two. The fact that D. 49 and An. 46 give nine books to the *Ἀναλ. πρότ.* (though An. 134 repeats the title with two only) points probably only to a different division; but it is also possible that other tracts are included, for the ANON. *Schol. in Ar.* 33, b, 32 (cf. DAVID, *ibid.* 30, b, 4, PHILOP. *ibid.* 39, a, 19, 142, b, 38, and SIMPL. *Categ.* 4 ζ) says that Adrastus knew of forty books of Analytics, of which only the four which are extant were counted genuine.—That these are genuine is proved beyond doubt, both by internal evidence, by Aristotle's own references, and by the fact that his earliest pupils wrote works modelled on them (cf. p. 65, *supra*, and BRANDIS, *Uhein. Mus.* NIEBUHR and BR. i. 267). Thus we know

proof by probability,<sup>1</sup> and on fallacies and their dis-

of an *Analytic* by Eudemus (ALEX. *Top.* 70), and we have references to book i. of the *Πρότερα ἀναλ.* of Theophrastus (ALEX. *Anal. pri.* 39, b, 51, a, 131, b, *Schol.* 158, b, 8, 161, b, 9, 184, b, 36; SIMPL. *De Caelo*, *Schol.* 509, a, 6). Alexander, in his commentary, quotes from both on numerous points in which they developed or improved Aristotle's *Ἀναλ. πρότ.* (cf. *Theophr. Fr.* [ed. Wimmer], p. 177 sq. 229; *Eudem. Fr.* [ed. Spengel], p. 144 sq.). For the *Second Analytic* the references are less copious; but we know of passages of Theophrastus through Alexander (ANON. *Schol. in Ar.* 240, b, 2, and *ap. Eustrat. ibid.* 242, a, 17), through THEMIST. *ibid.* 199, b, 46, and through PHILOP. *ibid.* 205, a, 46, and through an Anon. *Schol. ibid.* 248, a, 24, of a remark of Eudemus, all of which seem to refer to the *Second Analytic*. We know as to Theophrastus, not only from the form of the title of the *Ἀναλ. πρότερα*, but also from express testimony (r. DIOG. v. 42; GALEN, *Hippocr. et Pl.* ii. 2, vol. v. 213, and ALEX. *Qu. Nat.* i. 26) that he did write a *Second Analytic*, and it is probable that in that, as in the text, he followed Aristotle. Aristotle himself cites both *Analytics* under that name: *Top.* viii. 11, 13, 162, a, 11, b, 32; *Soph. El.* 2, 165, b, 8; *Rhet.* i. 2, 1356, b, 9, 1357, a, 29, b, 24, ii. 25, 1403, a, 5, 12; *Metaph.* vii. 12 *init.*; *Eth. N.* vi. 3, 1139, b, 26, 32; also *De Interpr.* 10, 19, b, 31; *M. Mor.* ii. 6, 1201, b, 25; *Eth. Eud.* i. 6, 1217, a, 17, ii. 6, 1222, b, 38, c. 10, 1227, a, 10;

(cf. other references *ap.* BONITZ, *Ind. Arist.* 102, a, 30 sq.). It is therefore the original title, and has always remained in common use, notwithstanding that Aristotle cites certain passages of the *First Analytic* with the word *ἐν τοῖς περὶ συλλογισμοῦ* (*Anal. post.* i. 3, 11, 73, a, 14, 77, a, 33), or that Alexander (*Metaph.* 437, 12, 488, 11, 718, 4) and Pt. 28 call the *Second Analytic* *ἀποδεικτική*, or that Galen (*De Puls.* iv. *fin.*, vol. viii. 765; *De Libr. Propr.* vol. xix. 41) chooses to substitute, as he says, for the common titles, the names Π. συλλογισμοῦ and Π. ἀποδείξεως; nor have we any right to name them on internal grounds (with GUMPOSCH, *Log. Ar.* 115) Π. συλλογισμοῦ and Μεθοδικά. Brandis justly remarks (*Ue. d. Ar. Org.* 261 sq.; *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 1, 224, 275) that the *First Analytic* is far more carefully and evenly worked out than the *Second* (which Aristotle can hardly have considered as complete), and that the two books of the *First Analytic* do not appear to have been written together, but with an interval.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle dealt with this subject in several books, no doubt in connection with his rhetorical teaching. We still have the *Topica* in eight books, of which, however, the last, and perhaps the third and seventh also, seem to have been worked out long after the others (c. BRANDIS, *Ue. d. Ar. Org.* 255; *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 330). The genuineness of the work and of its name is established by citations in Aristotle himself (*De*

proof.<sup>1</sup> Besides these, which are the component parts of our *Organon*, we have also the names of a great

*Interpr.* 11, 20, b, 26; *Anal. pr.* i. 11, 24, b, 12; ii. 15, 17, 64, a, 37, 65, b, 16; *Rhet.* i. 1, 1355, a, 28, c. 2, 1356, b, 11, 1358, a, 29; ii. 22, 1396, b, 4, c. 23, 1398, a, 28, 1399, a, 6, c. 25, 1402, a, 36, c. 26, 1403, a, 32; iii. 18, 1419, a, 24). For the art of proof by probabilities Aristotle uses the term 'Dialectic' (*Top. init.*, *Rhet. init.*, etc.), and he refers to the *Topics* in a similar way as *πραγματεία π. τὴν διαλεκτικὴν* (*Anal. pr. i.* 30, 46, a, 30). It is probable, therefore, that by *μεθοδικά* (*Rhet. i.* 2, 1356, b, 19) he meant the *Topics*, which in the opening words announce as their object, *μέθοδον εὑρεῖν*, etc., and in which (i. 12, 105, a, 16; viii. 2 *init.*) the relative passage is to be found, rather than, as Heitz (p. 81 sq., *Fr. Hz.* 117) suggests, a lost work; cf. ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 120; VAHLEN, *Wien. Akad.* xxxviii. 99; BONITZ, *Ztschr. Oesterr. Gymn.* 1866, 11, 774. It seems, also, that in several MSS. the *Topics* were headed with the title *Μεθοδικά*, so that an idea arose that they were distinct works. This idea has been attributed to Dionys. (*Ep. I. ad Amm.* 6, p. 729, on *Rhet. i.* 2), but he speaks only of *ἀναλυτικὴ καὶ μεθοδικὴ πραγματεία*, and does not specially include the *Topics* in the latter. But D. 52 inserts *Μεθοδικά* in eight books, and AN. 49, the like title including seven books, although both know the *Topics* as well. So Diog. (v. 29) distinguishes *τὰ τε τοπικά καὶ μεθοδικά*; and Simpl. (*Cat.* 16 a, *Schol.* 47, b, 40), after

Porphyry, appears to regard the latter as belonging, and the former as not belonging, to the 'Hypomnematic' writings. In D. 81 we even find a second entry of *Μεθοδικὸν α'*.—The theory of Spengel (*Abh. d. Münchn. Akad.* vi. 497) that our text of the *Topics* contains grave *lacunæ* does not seem to be proved by the passages he quotes (*Rhet. i.* 2, 1356, b, 10; ii. 25, 1402, a, 34). As to the former, which refers to the *Topics* only for the difference between *συλλογισμὸς* and *ἐπαγωγή* (cf. BRANDIS, 'Ue. d. Rhet. Ar.' ap. *Philologus*, iv. 13), it is satisfied by *Top. i.* 1, 12. As to the second, which does not apply to *Top. viii.* 10, 161, a, 9 sq., the words *καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς*, etc., need not be taken as referring to a particular passage, but may be taken as meaning 'of objections there are in Rhetoric, as in *Topics*, many kinds,' i.e. in oratorical use as opposed to disputation,—a remark that might well be made even if these distinctions were not taken in the earlier book. For similar uses of *ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς*, etc., cf. BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 101 b, 44 sq., 52 sq., and VAHLEN, *ut supra*, 140 (where the phrase in *Rhet. ii.* 25 is explained as meaning 'Instances are here used in the same way as in *Topics*, and those of four kinds,' etc.).

<sup>1</sup> The Π. σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων, or (as ALEX. *Schol.* 296, a, 12, 21, 29, and Boeth. in his translation have it) Σοφιστ. ἐλεγχοι. Waitz (*Ar. Org.* ii. 528), followed by Bonitz (*Ind. Ar.* 102, a, 49),

number of kindred writings: treatises on Knowledge and Opinion,<sup>1</sup> on Definition,<sup>2</sup> on Classification by Genera and Species,<sup>3</sup> on Opposition and Difference,<sup>4</sup> on Particular Kinds of Conceptions,<sup>5</sup> on Expression in Speech,<sup>6</sup> on Affirmation and Negation,<sup>7</sup> on Syllog-

shows that Aristotle in the *De Interpr.* c. 11, 20, b, 26, and *Anal. pri.* ii. 17, 65, b, 16, refers to passages of this work (i.e. c. 17, 175, b, 39, c. 30, and c. 5, 167, b, 21), under the name ἐν τοῖς Τοπικοῖς; that he reckons knowledge of fallacies as part of 'Dialectic' (*Soph. El.* c. 9 *fin.*, ch. 11 *fin.*; cf. *Top.* i. 1, 100, b, 23); and that c. 34 is the epilogue not only for these but for the whole science of 'Topics.' Again, however, Aristotle seems (in c. 2, 165 b, 8; cf. *Rhet.* i. 3, 1359, b, 11; cf. BRANDIS, *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 148) to distinguish the two, in a way, however, which proves, not that the two were not meant to form a whole, but that the treatise on fallacies was composed later than the rest of the *Topics*. The lists of D. and AN. do not name the Σοφ. ἔλ. (for that reading in AN. 125 is, as Rose shows, wrong), and yet give the Μεθοδικὰ only eight books, whereas PT. 29, separates them from the *Topics* (26 b); possibly, however, in D. 27, Π. ἐριστικῶν two books, and AN. 27, Π. ἐριστικῶν λόγων two books, are the same as our Σοφ. ἔλ.

<sup>1</sup> Π. ἐπιστήμης, D. 40; Π. ἐπιστημῶν, D. 26, AN. 25; Π. δόξης, AN. App. 162. The genuineness of the work is doubtful, because it is nowhere else referred to.

<sup>2</sup> To this subject refer several

titles in PT.: i.e. No. 60, 'Οριστικά, four books (cf. DIOG. v. 50, for the same title in the list of Theophrastus' works); 63, on the objects of Definition, two books; 63 b, *De Contradictione Definitionum*; 63 c, *De Arte Definendi*; 64, Πρὸς τοὺς ὁρισμοὺς, two books (cf. the same from Theophr., DIOG. v. 45), translated *De Tabula Definendi*. As to the collections of definitions and divisions, cf. *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Π. εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν, D. 31; Π. εἰδῶν, AN. 28, otherwise unknown.

<sup>4</sup> As to the opposition of concepts there was a book Π. τῶν ἀντικειμένων, doubtless the same as Π. ἐναντίων (D. 30, AN. 32). Simplicius, in his commentary on the *Categ.* (v. *Ar. Fr.* 115-121, p. 1497, sq.; *Fr. Hz.* 119), gives us some further information as to this book and its casuistical discussions. Rose (*Ar. Ps.* 130) refers it to the age of Theophrastus. PT. 12 has Π. διαφορᾶς, four books.

<sup>5</sup> *De Relato* (Π. τοῦ πρὸς τι), six books (PT. 84).

<sup>6</sup> *De Significatione*, PT. 78; its Greek title is given as 'Γαμμάκη', i.e. Γραμματικὸν or -ῶν. As to another related title, Π. λέξεως, cf. *infra*. PT. 54, *Partitio Conditionum quæ statuuntur in voce et ponuntur*, four books, may also have been a grammatical treatise.

<sup>7</sup> ALEX. *Metaph.* 286, 23, 680, a, 26, cites this simply as ἐν



isms,<sup>1</sup> and on subjects belonging to the sphere of Topics and Eristics.<sup>2</sup> Probably, however, the most

τῷ π. καταφάσεως; probably, however, it should be (like the corresponding, or possibly identical, work of Theophrastus, named by DIOG. v. 44) Π. καταφάσεως καὶ ἀποφάσεως.

<sup>1</sup> Συλλογισμῶν α' β' (D. 56, AN. 54); Συλλογιστικὸν καὶ ὅροι (D. 57; AN. 55: -κῶν δρων); Συλλογισμοὶ α' (D. 48).

<sup>2</sup> To this category belong in the first place the treatises placed next to the *Μεθοδικὰ* in the lists: *Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων* (D. 59, AN. 57); *Ὅροι πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν*, 7 books (D. 55); *Τοπικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους α' β'* (D. 60, AN. 59, PT. 62 as three books named *Tabula definitionum quae adhibentur in Topica*, i.e. *Πρὸς ὅρους τοπικῶν*); *De Definendi Topico* (i.e. 'On Definition in Topics,' PT. 61); Π. ἰδίων (D. 32); Π. ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως (D. 44, AN. 44). Brandis, however, believes (*ut supra*) that these names indicate only particular parts of our *Topica*. He takes *Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων* (elsewhere used for the *Categ.*; cf. p. 64, n. 1) to be the first book, which in fact we know to have been so called by some (ANON. *Schol. in Ar.* 252, a, 46); the *Ὅρος τῶν τόπων* [as Br. reads it] to be books 2-8; *Τοπ. πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους*, books 6-7; Π. ἰδίων, book 5; and Π. ἐρωτ. κ. ἀποκρ. book 8, as to which we learn from ALEX. *Schol.* 292, a, 14, that many named it so, and others again, with a reference to its first words, Π. τῶνδε κ. ἀποκρίσεως. These suggestions seem to commend themselves: except that it is easier to suppose as to the seven

books of *Ὅροι πρὸ τῶν τόπων* that the text of D. is wrong. The AN. gives instead two titles: 51, *Ὅρων βιβλίον α'*; 52, *Τοπικῶν ζ'*. Here it is natural to refer the *Ὅροι* to book 1, the first half of which (c. 1-11) consists in definitions and their explanation, and the seven *Topica* to books 2-8. We conjecture, therefore, in view of the fact that both lists have the number seven, that in D. also the *Ὅροι* was originally distinct from the *Topica*, and that his text read: *Ὅροι πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν α': Τοπικῶν α'-ζ'*. D. 65 and AN. 62 name also *Ἐπιχειρημάτων α' β'* (PT. 55, 39, B, 83, 1, B); D. 33; AN. 33, *Ἵπομνήματα ἐπιχειρηματικά*, 3 B; D. 70, AN. 65, *Θέσεις ἐπιχειρηματικαί* κε'; cf. also THEON, *Prolegmn.* p. 165 W. (*Rhet.* ed. Sp. II, 69), who ascribes to Aristotle and Theophrastus *πολλὰ βιβλία θέσεων ἐπιγραφόμενα*, described by ALEX. *Top.* 16, *Schol.* 254, b, 10, as containing *τὴν εἰς τὰ ἐντικείμενα δι' ἐνδόξων ἐπιχείρησιν*. (*Πρὸς θέσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν* means 'to develop the *pro* and *con* of a given proposition,' v. *Ind. Ar.* 282, b, 57, 283, a, 6: *θέσεις ἐπιχειρηματικά* are therefore themes for dialectic development or dialectical exercises with an introduction to the way of working them out.)—The *Ἐπιχειρήματα* are no doubt identical with the *Λογικά ἐπιχειρ.* the second book of which is quoted by PHILOP. *Schol.* 227, a, 46, and the *Ἵπομνήμ. ἐπιχειρ.* with that which is cited simply as *Ἵπομνήματα* by DEXIPP. *Cat.* 40, *Schol.* 48, a, 4, and SIMPL. *Schol.* 47, b, 39 following Por-

ancient of these tracts were in reality productions of the Peripatetic school at dates subsequent to Aristotle's death.

Next to the *Topics* in order of subjects come the Rhetorical Works.<sup>1</sup> Some of these were written before the *Topics* in order of time; others only afterwards and at a long interval. Of the many books of Aristotelian or alleged Aristotelian origin which dealt with the theory of skilled speaking,<sup>2</sup> or treated

phyry. PT. gives three entries of 'amasmata' or 'ifumsmata' (= *ὑπομνήματα*), i.e. No. 69, 2 books; 82, 16 books; and 82, b, 1 book. The references in ATHEN. iv. 173, and xiv. 654 to 'Ap. ἡ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι' are not to a defined book so named, but are vague and not to be identified. What relation the *Προτάσεις* named in PT. (No. 79 = 33[? 23] books, and No. 80 = 31 [? 7] books) bear to the *Θέσεις ἐπιχ.* we cannot say, but we also find two entries in D. (46 and 47), and one in AN. (38) of *Προτάσεις α'*. The 'Ἐπιχειρηματικοὶ λόγοι', cited by Aristotle in the opening of c. 2. Π. μνημ. is not a separate work (cf. THEM. 97, a, p. 241), but the first chapter of the work itself (449, b, 13 sq., 450, a, 30 sq., 450, b, 11 sq.; cf. BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 99, a, 38). Under the head of *Topics* fall also the 'Ἐνστάσεις', D. 35, AN. 36, PT. 55, b; the *Προτάσεις ἐριστικοὶ δ'*, D. 47, AN. 44; *Λύσεις ἐριστικοὶ δ'*, D. 28, AN. 29; and *Διαρρέσεις σοφιστικοὶ δ'*, D. 29, AN. 31.—As to the 'Ἐριστικοὶ λόγοι', cf. p. 68, n. 1 *fin.* A tract *Παρά τὴν λέξιν*, named by SIMPL. *Schol.* 47, b, 40, was doubted, as he says, even by the

ancients (cf. *Ar. Fr.* 113, p. 1496; ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 128; *Fr. Hx.* 116). It dealt probably (cf. *Soph. EL.* 4) with the fallacies *παρὰ τὴν λέξιν*. AN. 196 names among the Pseud-epigrapha a work *Περὶ μεθόδου*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rhet.* i, 1 *init.* c. 2, 1356, a, 25; *Soph. EL.* 34, 184, a, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the two extant works, this class includes primarily the Theodectean Rhetoric: i.e. D. 82 and AN. 74, *Τέχνης τῆς Θεοδέκτου συναγωγὴ* [? *εἰσαγωγὴ*] in one or three books. The extant *Rhetoric* alludes (iii. 9 *fin.*) to an enumeration *ἐν τοῖς Θεοδεκτέοις*, which must mean a work of Aristotle, and proves, even if *Rhet.* iii. be spurious, the existence of this book in early times. The compiler of the *Rhet. ad Alex.* i. 1421, b, 1 makes Aristotle speak of *ταῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τέχναϊς Θεοδέκτῃ γραφεύσαις*; and this reference also must be at least anterior to Andronicus. The words leave it doubtful whether the writer meant a *Rhetoric* dedicated to Theodectes, or one written by Aristotle but published by Theodectes in his own name. Later classical writers several times attribute to the name 'Rhetoric of Theodectes' the

of the history of rhetoric,<sup>1</sup> or set out rhetorical

atter meaning, in itself most improbable (cf. Θεοδέκεια τέχναι, ANON. in *Ar. Fr.* 125, p. 1499, *Fr. Hz.* 125; QUINTILIAN, ii. 15, 10, gives this explanation with an 'ut creditum est': VALER. MAX. viii. 14, 3 gives it more distinctly); or else they name Theodectes directly as the author (CIC. *Orat.* 51, 172, 57, 194; QUINTIL. iv. 2, 63; and later writers *ap.* ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 141, *Ar. Fr.* 123; *Fr. Hz.* 124 sq.; compare the similar treatment of the title *Nicomachean Ethics* by Cicero and others, *de quo* p. 97 *inf.*; or else they ascribe to Aristotle and Theodectes the opinions they find in this book (DIONYS. *Comp. Verb.* 2, p. 8, *De Vi Demos.* 48, p. 1101; QUINTIL. i. 4, 18; *Ar. Fr.* 126). If it is genuine, which the *Fr.* at least give no reason to doubt, we should consider it certainly not as a work written by Theodectes and published by Aristotle after his death, but as a work of Aristotle dedicated to Theodectes, in which view, since that orator did not survive the date of Alexander's Eastern expedition, and had become known to Alexander through Aristotle (PLUT. *Alex.* 17 *fin.*), it would have been composed during the years of Aristotle's residence in Macedonia. The name Τέχναι (in the *Rhet. ad Alex.*; cf. ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 139) seems to indicate that it had more than one book, though the plural Θεοδέκεια (*Rhet.* iii. 9) would not necessarily do so. For further details *v.* ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 135 sq., and HEITZ, 85 sq.—As to the remaining titles in our lists which relate to Rhetoric,

the Τέχνη[s] α' of D. 79, AN. 73 probably meant the extant *Rhet. ad Alex.* In D. 80 the MSS. vary between ἄλλη τέχνη and ἄλλη τεχνῶν συναγωγή. If the former is right it would mean a second recension of our *Rhetoric*: if the latter, a recension of the Τεχνῶν συναγωγή: in neither case would it imply separate works.—Of the special tracts, the Γράλλος has been mentioned p. 58, n. 1, *supra*: probably AN. *App.* 153, Π. ῥητορικῆς is merely a duplicate of it. In the title, Π. λέξεως α' β' (D. 87, AN. 79, Π. λέξ. καθαρᾶς: cf. on a similar book by Eudemus, p. 698, n. 3) Brandis in the *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 1. 79 detects book 3 of our *Rhetoric*, whose first twelve chapters deal with that subject. This is the more probable that D. 78 gives the *Rhetoric* only two books, although AN. 72 has three books. The others, *i.e.* D. 85, AN. 77, Π. μεγέθους α' (*de quo* cf. *Rhet.* i. 3, 1359, a, 16, ii. 18 sq. 1391, b, 31, 1393, a, δ); D. 88, AN. 80, Π. συμβουλίας [-ῆς] α' (*v.* *Ar. Fr.* 136, p. 1501, *Ar. Ps.* 148, *Fr. Hz.* 126): AN. *App.* 177, Π. ῥήτορος ἢ πολιτικοῦ: AN. *App.* 178, Τέχνη ἐγκωμιαστική, were doubtless all spurious, as was also the Μνημονικὸν (D. 117, AN. 109) which would be dealt with as an aid to Rhetoric. PT. 68, Παραγγέλματα seems to be the same as the Παραγγ. ῥητορικῆς attributed to Theophrastus by DIOG. v. 47, but was in any case not by Aristotle.

<sup>1</sup> An exposition of all the rhetorical theories (τέχναι) down to Aristotle's own time was given in the Τεχνῶν συναγωγή (D. 77, as two books: AN. 71, and PT.

examples,<sup>1</sup> we have only one preserved to us,<sup>2</sup> in which, however, we possess without doubt the most mature statement of his rhetorical doctrine. The *Rhetoric* addressed to Alexander is now universally admitted to be spurious.<sup>3</sup>

24, as one book), D. 89, *Συναγωγῆς α' β'*, and D. 80, *Ἄλλη τεχνῶν συναγωγή* (if that is the right reading) seem to be duplicates only. We hear of it in CIC. *De Invent.* ii. 2, 6, *De Orat.* ii. 38, 160, *Brut.* 12, 48, etc.: v. *Ar. Fr.* 130-135, p. 1500; *Ar. Ps.* 145; *Fr. Hz.* 122. The same work or an abstract of it seems to be meant by Demetr. Magn. (*ap. Diog.* ii. 104) by the title *Ἐπιτομὴ ρητόρων*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐνθυμήματα ρητορικὰ α'*, D. 84, *AN.* 76; and *Ἐνθυμημάτων διαιρέσεις α'* (D. 84; *AN.* 88, miswritten *Ἐνθ. καὶ αἰρέσεων*). To the same class belonged *AN.* 127, *Προομιῶν α'*; but *Ι. Παροιμιῶν*, as in D. 138. With these should be reckoned the *Χρείαι*—a collection of striking remarks, like Plutarch's Apophthegms, quoted by Stob. *Floril.* 5, 83, 7, 30, 31, 29, 70, 90, 43, 140, 57, 12, 93, 38, 116, 47, 118, 29. But as a saying of Zeno the Stoic is quoted from it (57, 12), and as we can hardly credit Aristotle with such a collection of anecdotes, it must either be a forgery or else the work of a later writer of the same name, like the grammarian mentioned *ap. Diog.* v. 35. Rose believes (*Ar. Ps.* 611) that *Ἀριστοτέλους* is a misreading for *Ἀρίστωνος*. The same book seems to be what is meant in Stob. (38, 37, 45, 21) by the citation: *ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν Ἀριστοτέλους διατριβῶν*. See its *Fr. ap. Rose, Ar. Ps.* 611, and *Fr. Hz.* 335.—The two orations,

*Ἐγκώμιον λόγου* and *Ἐγκώμιον πλούτου*, are counted as pseudepigrapha in *AN.* 190, 194. The various proverbs and apophthegms quoted from Aristotle (*ROSE, Ar. Ps.* 606 sq.; *Fr. Hz.* 337 sq.) are collected from different sources.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the three books of the *Rhetoric*. The date of its composition must be the last residence of Aristotle at Athens; cf. BRANDIS in 'Ar. Rhet.' *Philol.* iv. 8. That it has suffered interpolations and transpositions (*e.g.* in book ii. c. 18-26 ought to precede c. 1-17) was proved by SPENGEL, *Abh. d. Münchn. Akad.* vi. 483, followed by VAHLEN, 'Z. Krit. Ar. Schr.' *Wien. Akad.* xxxviii. 92, 121. The genuineness of book iii. has been questioned by SAUPPE, *Dionys. v. Ar.*, Gött. 1863, p. 32; *ROSE, Ar. Ps.* 137 n.; HEITZ, p. 85, 89; SCHAARSCHMIDT, *Samml. Plat. Schr.* 108, whose view has been followed in ZELLER, *Plato*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> This work was known to the author of our earliest list (*v. D.* 79, but its authenticity is not to be thought of. SPENGEL (*Συναγ. τεχν.* 182, *ANAXIM. Ars Rhet.* Proleg. ix. sq., cf. 99 sq.) attributes it, excepting the first and last chapters, to Aristotle's contemporary Anaximenes of Lampsacus. This suggestion, however, is very questionable; cf. *ROSE, Ar. Lib. Ord.* 100; KAMPE, in the *Philol.* ix. 106 sq. 279 sq. For, apart

Of the writings devoted to the development of his philosophic system, the first place is given to collections of Definitions<sup>1</sup> and Divisions<sup>2</sup>—regarded as aids to

from the arbitrariness of the separation of the part attributed to Anaximenes from the rest, the influence of the school of Aristotle betrays itself throughout, not only in the persistence of a method of didactic definitions and divisions, but also in the tenor of particular passages. Cf., e.g., c. 2 *init.* (with *Rhet.* i. 3); c. 3, 1424, a, 12–19 (*Polit.* vi. 4, 1318, b, 27–38); c. 5, 1427, a, 30 (*Eth. N.* v. 10, 1135, b, 11 sqq., *Rhet.* i. 13, 1374, b, 6); c. 8, 1428, a, 19 sqq. (*Rhet.* ii. 25, 1402, b, 12 sqq.); c. 8, 1428, a, 25 (*Anal. pr.* ii. 27 *init.*); c. 9 *init.* (*Rhet.* i. 2, 1357, b, 28); c. 12 *init.* (*Rhet.* ii. 21, 1394, a, 22); and the distinction of *ἐνθόμημα* and *γνώμη* in c. 11 sq., though differently put, is of Aristotelian origin (cf. *Rhet.* ii. 21, 1394, a, 26); c. 17 (*Rhet.* i. 15, 1376, b, 31 sq.); c. 28 *init.* 29 *init.* (*Rhet.* iii. 9, 1410, a, 23).

<sup>1</sup> D. 64, AN. 61, 'Ορισμοί, 13 books: PT. 59: "Οροι, 16 books, was certainly a later work of the School, analogous to the Platonic *Definitiones*. As to the other title, AN. 51, "Ορων Βιβλίον α', cf. p. 71, n. 2, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the 'Platonic Divisions' mentioned p. 63, n. 2, the lists name the following of this class: D. 42, Διαίρεσεις ιζ' [AN. 41, Π. διαίρεσεων]; D. 43, AN. 42, Διαμερικῶν α' [Rose *leg.* -κων, as in the duplicate title D. 62]; PT. 52 gives the Διαίρεσεις (which might extend to any length according to the subjects chosen), 26 books. Whether the work was different from or identical (as

seems more probable) with the Platonic Διαίρεσεις, it cannot be genuine. The quotation in ALEX. *Top.* 126, *Schol.* 274, a, 42, from Aristotle, ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διαίρεσει (*Ar. Fr.* 110, p. 1496; *Fr. Hx.* 119), is satisfied by *M. Mor.* i. 2, 1183, b, 20 sq., cf. *Eth. N.* i. 12, 1101, b, 11, but may have found its way from that source into the Διαίρεσεις also.—Aristotle himself names an 'Εκλογή τῶν ἐναντίων, in *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, a, 1, where, after the remark that all oppositions finally go back to that of the ἐν or ὄν and its opposite, he adds: τεθεωρήσθω δ' ἡμῖν ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ἐκλογῇ τῶν ἐναντίων: in the parallel passage, xi. 3, 1061, a, 15, it is only ἐστῶσαν γὰρ αὐταί τεθεωρημένα: cf. 1004, b, 33, πάντα δὲ καὶ τὰλλα ἀναγόμενα φαίνεται εἰς τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος· εἰλήφθω γὰρ ἡ ἀναγωγὴ ἡμῖν. To the same refers also x. 3, 1054, a, 29: ἔστι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐνός, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ διαίρεσει τῶν ἐναντίων διεγράψαμεν, τὸ ταῦτὸ καὶ ὁμοιον καὶ ἴσον, etc.; and the ταῦτὸν and ὁμοιον were themselves given in *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1003, b, 35, as examples of the εἶδη τοῦ ἐνός treated of in the 'Εκλογῇ τ. ἐν.: cf. also x. c. 4 *ad fin.* But in *Met.* xii. 7, 1072, b, 2 the words ἡ διαίρεσις δηλοῖ refer, not to a treatise, but to the division of two kinds of οὐ ἐνεκα given just before. Whether the reference to the 'Εκλογῇ τ. ἐν. indicates a separate treatise or a section of the work 'On the Good,' even Alexander did not know (cf. p. 61, n. 1); but since the subject

seven times, of the particle γέ μὴν, which is otherwise unknown in Aristotle's writing (EUCKEN, *De Ar. Dic. Rat.* i. 10; *Ind. Ar.* 147, a, 44 sq.) In view, however, of the arguments from the contents of the book themselves adduced in support of the other view by Bonitz (*Ar. Met.* ii. 15, 451), this peculiarity is not decisive, especially as the general style of the book has Aristotle's characteristics, and as similar phenomena as to particles are found elsewhere. [Thus τὲ . . . τὲ occurs in Aristotle almost exclusively in the *Ethics* and *Politics* (EUCKEN, 16); δέ γε almost exclusively in the *Physics* (*ibid.* 33), in which also μέντοι, καίτοι, and τοίνυν are much commoner than in the other works (*ibid.* 35, 51): ἄρα recurs oftener in the later books of the *Metaph.* than in the earlier (*ibid.* 50): and among the ten books of the *Ethics*, there are many variants as between the three last and the sections i.-iv. or v.-vii., which again vary from one another in diction (*ibid.* 75 sq.). In this first half of book xi. five of the seven cases of γέ μὴν occur in c. 2. Besides, γέ is so often inserted by the copyists that it is always possible some early scribe is partly responsible.] Book xii. appears as an independent treatise, which refers to none of the preceding books, but seems to allude to the *Phys.* viii. 10 (esp. 267, b, 17 sq.) in c. 7, 1073, a, 5, and in c. 8, 1073, a, 32, to *Phys.* viii. 8 sq., and also to the *De Caelo* ii. 3 sq. It is remarkable that while c. 6-10 develop in some detail the views of Aristotle as to the God-head and other eternal Essences, c. 1-5 on the contrary give us

the doctrine of changeable substances and their causes only in narrow compass, and in a style condensed often to the point of obscurity. This, with the fact that in these chapters the formula μετὰ ταῦτα [*sc. λεκτέον*] ὅτι occur twice (*i.e.* 3 *init.*, and 1070, a. 4) indicates that it was not a book published by Aristotle, but a set of notes intended as a basis for lectures, in which many points were only hinted at in the briefest way, with the knowledge that they would be made plain by oral development. The main theme of the lectures consisted of the points which in the second half of book xi. are treated with special care; while the more general metaphysical inquiries which were to serve as an introduction or basis for them were only lightly sketched. The matter the lectures dealt with was no doubt intended to be included in the work on the First Philosophy; and c. 6-10 are, as far as matter is concerned, exactly fitted to be the conclusion of it. C. 1-5, on the other hand, include nothing which is not contained in the earlier books. The polemic of Rose (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 160) against this book—which, as will be seen in the next note, is specially well fortified with external evidence—has no value as against its Aristotelian authorship, but only as to its connection with our *Metaph.* The relation of the remaining two books to the rest is not clear; but there is no reason to hold with Rose (p. 157) that only xiv. is genuine. Aristotle must have originally meant to include them in the same book, for xiii. 2, 1076, a, 39, refers

after Aristotle's death.<sup>1</sup> Of the other writings mentioned which would have stood in close relation with

to iii. 2, 998, a, 7 sq., xiii. 2, 1076, b, 39, to iii. 2, 997, b, 12 sq., xiii. 10, 1086, b, 14 to iii. 6. 1003, a, 6 sq., and in viii. i. 1062, a, 22 he contemplates a treatment of Mathematics and the Ideas, which, as appears by xiii. *init.*, was intended to serve as an introduction to Theology (cf. BRANDIS, 542, 413 a). On the other hand, in xiv. 1, the obvious reference to x. 1 is not noticed, and vii. and viii. are not referred to at all in xiii. and xiv. (BONITZ, p. 26). It is inconceivable that Aristotle would have repeated a considerable section almost word for word, as is the case with the present text of i. 6, 9, and xiii. 4, 5. But book i., as a whole, must, as well as book iii., which cites it (iii. 2, 996, b, 8, cf. i. 2, 982, a, 16, b, 4, and 997, b, 3, cf. i. 6 sq.) be older than book xiii. It seems to me, therefore, the most probable conjecture that the argument in i. 9, which is apparently more mature than that in book xiii., was inserted on a second revision of book i., after Aristotle had decided to exclude books xiii. and xiv. from the scope of his main work on Metaphysics. Book ii. (α), a collection of three small essays, written as an introduction to Physics rather than to Metaphysics (v. c. 3 *Schol.*), is certainly not by Aristotle. The majority of the ancient commentators (οἱ πλεῖστοι) attributed it to a nephew of Eudemos, Pasicles of Rhodes (*Schol. ap. Ar. Opp.* 993, a, 29; *Schol. in Ar.* 589, a, 41; the so-called Philoponus [BEKKER'S

*Anon. Urbin.*] in the *Introductio* to α, where the name is Pasicrates; and *Asclep. Schol.* 520 a, 6, except that he has erroneously transferred the story from α to A). That it was inserted after the other books were collected is clear, not only from its designation, but from the way in which it breaks the connection of the closely consecutive books A and B, for which reason many of the ancients wished to make it a preface to the *Physics*, or at least to book i. of the *Metaph.* (*Schol.* 589, b, 1 sq.) SYRIAN (*ap. SCHOL.* 849, a, 3) mentions that some critics proposed to reject A. These, like Asclepius, probably confused it with α: if not, Syrian was right in thinking their suggestion laughable.

<sup>1</sup> This seems probable (cf. ZELLER, *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1877, *Hist. Phil.* Kl. 145) because of the circumstance that most of the genuine books of our *Metaphysics* were in use at the date of the oldest peripatetic books or fragments which we possess, and that they seem to have been gathered together in the same series of books with the rest at a very early date. Book i., as above stated, was not only the model for Theophrastus in book i. of his *History of Physics*, but has also left clear traces in what we know of Eudemos, and is the source of the point of view taken by the author of the treatise on Melissus, &c. Books iii. (B) and iv. are referred to by Eudemos, the fourth by Theophrastus also; book vi. by Theophrastus; book

the *Metaphysics*, only a few can be considered to be

vii. by Eudemus; book ix. by Theophrastus; book xii. by Theophrastus, Eudemus, the writer of the *Magna Moralia*, and the writer of the Π. ζών κινήσεως; book xiii. by Eudemus; book xiv. apparently by Theophrastus; and the fifth, the tract Π. τοῦ ποσαχῶς λεγόμενον, by Strato; cf. the following: (1) *Metaph.* 1, 981, a, 12 sq., EUDEM. *Fr.* 2, Speng.; (2) i. 3, 983, b, 20, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 40; (3) *ibid.* 1. 30, EUD. *Fr.* 117; (4) i. 5, 986, b, 18; *De Melisso*, Xenoph. etc., see vol. i. 468, 484; (5) *ibid.* 1. 21 sq., THEOPHR. *Fr.* 45; (6) *ibid.* 1. 27, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 43, 44, EUD. *Fr.* 11, S. 21, 7; (7) i. 6, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 48; (8) i. 6, 987, b, 32, EUD. *Fr.* 11, S. 22, 7, Sp.; (9) i. 8, 989, a, 30, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 46; (10) iii. 2, 996, b, 26, iv. 3, 1005, a, 19, EUD. *Fr.* 4; (11) iii. 3, 999, a, 6, *Eth. Eud.* i. 8, 1218, a, 1; (12) iv. 2, 1009, b, 12, 21, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 42; (13) iv. 6, 1011, a, 12, c. 7, 1012, a, 20, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 12, 26; (14) v. 11, Strato apud SIMPL. *Categ. Schol. in Arist.* 90, a, 12-46; (15) vi. 1, 1026, a, 13-16, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 12, 1; (16) vii. 1, 1028, a, 10, 20, EUD. *Fr.* 5; (17) ix. 9, 1051, b, 24, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 12, 25; (18) xii. 7 *init.*, cf. c. 8, 1073, a, 22, *De Motu An.* 6, 700, b, 7; (19) xii. 7, 1072, a, 20, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 12, 5; (20) xii. 7, 1072, b, 24, c. 9, 1074, b, 21, 33, *Eth. Eud.* vii. 12, 1245, b, 16, *M. Mor.* ii. 15, 1213, a, 1; (21) xii. 10, 1075, b, 34, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 12, 2; (22) xiii. 1, 1076, a, 28, *Eth. Eud.* i. 8, 1217, b, 22; (23) xiv. 3, 1090, b, 13, THEOPHR. *Fr.* 12, 2. Since, therefore, the parts of our

*Metaph.*, like book xii., which did not in fact belong to the main treatise, are in use as commonly and at as early a date as those parts which did, it must be conjectured that the whole was put together in the period immediately following Aristotle's death. This theory receives remarkable confirmation from the fact that already in the Π. ζών κινήσεως (c. 6, 700, b, 8), which belongs undoubtedly to the third century B.C., book xii. itself is quoted by the title reserved by Aristotle for his main treatise on *Metaph.*: i.e. ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς πρώτης φιλοσοφίας (cf. BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 100, a, 47 sq.; the suspicion thrown on the passage by KRISCHE, *Forsch.* 267, 3, and HEITZ, *V. S.* 182, is groundless). We may assume, then, with some probability that immediately after Aristotle's death the finished sections of the work on First Philosophy (i.e. books i., iii., iv., vi.-x.) were bound up with the other sketches and notes of a like character left by him (i.e. xi. first part, xii., xiii., and xiv.), and that at the same time book v. was inserted between iv. and vi.; but that book a, and the second half of xi., were first attached by Andronicus to this work, with which they were not connected either by origin or contents. Naturally, we cannot with certainty affirm by whom the first redaction was undertaken. But the statement of ALEX. (ap. *Metaph.* 760, b, 11 sq.), that it was Eudemus, deserves all consideration; while the different story told by ASCLEP. (*Schol. in Ar.* 519, b, 38 sq.) is open to the



genuine, and these must have belonged to Aristotle's earlier period.<sup>1</sup>

The works on Natural Philosophy form the largest bulk of all Aristotle's productions. We have first a series of important investigations which Aristotle himself connected together. They deal with the general basis and conditions of the material universe, of the earth and the heavenly bodies, of the elements with their properties and relations, and of meteorological phenomena. These are the *Physics*,<sup>2</sup> the two con-

graviest doubts. Cf. further, p. 155 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the Books on Philosophy (p. 55, n. 5, and 57), on the Good, and on the Ideas (p. 61, n. 1, 62, n. 1), the *Περὶ ἐνχῆς* was probably genuine (c. p. 58, n. 1, fin.). The three books *Π. τύχης* (AN. App. 152) and the *Μαγικὰς* were not. The latter is named by Diog. (i. 1, 8, ii. 45), and was also evidently used by Plin. (*H. N.* xxx. 1, 2) as Aristotle's, but it is reckoned by AN. (191) among the Pseudepigrapha, and we know from Suidas (*Ἀντισθ.*) that it was attributed sometimes to the Socratic Antisthenes, sometimes to the Antisthenes who was a Peripatetic of Rhodes *circa* 180 B.C. (*lege*, by Bernhardt's happy conjecture, *Ῥοδῖω* for *Ῥόδωνι*). On this book, vide *Ar. Fr.* 27–30, p. 1479; *Fr. Hz.* 66; HEITZ, *V. S.* 294, 8; ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 50, who considers it to be a Dialogue.—Of the *Θεολογούμενα*, which was ascribed to Aristotle by Macrobi. (*Sat.* i. 18), the 'Theogony' mentioned by Schol. Eur. *Rhes.* (28), and the *τελερὰ* spoken of by Schol. Laur. in APOLL. RHOD. iv. 973 (c. these and other quotations

*ap. ROSE, Ar. Ps.* 615; *Fr. Hz.* 347) seem to have formed part. It is referred by Rose to the hand of Aristocles of Rhodes, a contemporary of Strato; but this seems unlikely: cf. Heitz, *V. S.* 294. It cannot, however, have been a genuine work of Aristotle, and it seems to have contained, not philosophical inquiries as to the Godhead, but collections and probably explanations of myths and religious usages.—The *Π. ἀρχῆς*, from its position in the list of D. 41, seems rather to have been a metaphysical or physical tract than a political one, but we know nothing of it.—As to a 'Theology of Aristotle,' which originated in the Neoplatonic School and is preserved to us in an Arabic translation, c. DIETERCI, *Abh. d. D. morgenl. Gesellsch.* 1877, 1, 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις* in 8 books (in AN. 148, *leg.* *ῆ'* for *ῆ'*), as its own MSS, and those of SIMPL. *Phys.* init., AN. 148, PT. 34, &c., name the treatise. Aristotle himself commonly calls only the first books *φυσικὰ* or *τὰ περὶ φύσεως* (*Phys.* viii. 1, 251, a, 8, cf. iii. 1,

nected works *On the Heavens* and *On Growth and*

viii. 3, 253, b, 7, cf. ii. 1, 192, b, 20, viii. 10, 267, b, 20, cf. iii. 4; *Metaph.* i. 3, 983, a, 33, c, 4, 985, a, 12, c, 7, 988, a, 22, c, 10, xi. 1, 1059, a, 34, cf. *Phys.* ii. 3, 7; *Metaph.* i. 5, 986, b, 30, cf. *Phys.* i. 2; xiii. 1, c, 9, 1086, a, 23, cf. *Phys.* i.). The later books he usually calls τὰ περὶ κινήσεως (*Metaph.* ix. 8, 1049, b, 36, cf. *Phys.* viii., vi. 6; *De Caelo* i. 5, 7, 272, a, 30, 275, b, 21, cf. *Phys.* vi. 7, 238, a, 20, c, 2. 233, a, 31, viii. 10; *De Caelo* iii. 1, 299, a, 10, cf. *Phys.* vi. 2, 233, b, 15; *Gen. et Corr.* i. 3, 318, a, 3, cf. *Phys.* viii.; *De Sensu* c, 6, 445, b, 19, cf. *Phys.* vi. 1; *Anal. post.* ii. 12, 95, b, 10). But in *Phys.* viii. 5, 257, a, 34 ἐν τοῖς καθόλου περὶ φύσεως refers to B. vi. 1, 4, *Metaph.* viii. 1, and φυσικὰ to B. v. 1; in *Metaph.* i. 8, 989, a, 24, xii. 8, 1073, 32, the phrase τὰ π. φύσεως refers not merely to the whole of the *Physica*, but also to other works on Natural Science (cf. BONITZ and SCHWEGLER *ad loc.*). For more general references see B. iii. 4, *De Caelo* i. 6, 274, a, 21, ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, B. iv. 12, vi. 1, *De Caelo* iii. 4, 303, a, 23, περὶ χρόνου καὶ κινήσεως, and see IND. ARIST. 102, b, 18 sqq.—D. 90, 45 (115) names a Π. φύσεως and a Π. κινήσεως, but the former with three books only, and the latter with one (cf. p. 50, n. 1). SIMPL. (*Phys.* 190, a, 216, a, 258, b, and 320, a) says that Aristotle and his ἑταῖροι (i.e. Theophrastus and Eudemus) spoke of the first 5 books as φυσικὰ or Π. ἀρχῶν φυσικῶν and of books vii. and viii. as Π. κινήσεως. No doubt Porphyry, however, was right (ap. SIMPL. 190, a) when he in-

cluded book v. with book vi., with which it is so closely connected, under the name Π. κινήσεως. For though in the time of Adrastus (ap. SIMPL. 16, 2, a) many may have named i.-v. Π. ἀρχῶν [φυσικῶν], as others named the whole, while vi.-viii. bore the title Π. κινήσεως under which Andronicus (SIMPL. 216, a) also cited them, yet it cannot be shown that this was so in the earliest period. When Theophr. cited book v. as ἐκ τῶν φυσικῶν he may easily have meant not only this whole treatise but others also (ut supra: and cf. SIMPL. 216, a). When Damascus the biographer and follower of Eudemus (ap. SIMPL. 216, a, where it is impossible to read *Damascius* the Neoplatonist) speaks of ἐκ τῆς περὶ φύσεως πραγματείας τῆς Ἀρ. τῶν περὶ κινήσεως τριῶν, it does not follow that he means vi., vii., viii., and not rather v., vi., viii. (cf. ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 198; BRANDIS, ii. b, 782). Indeed book vii. gave even ancient critics the impression of a section not properly fitted into the general connection, and SIMPL. (*Phys.* 242, a) tells us that Eudemus passed it over in his revision of the whole work. It need not on that account be classed as spurious (with ROSE, 199), but rather (with BRANDIS, ii. b, 893 sq.) as a collection of preliminary notes which do not belong to the Treatise on Physics. The text has taken on many interpolations and alterations from a paraphrase, known even in the time of Alexander and Simplicius (r. SIMPL. 245, a, b, 253, b, and cf. SPENGLER, *Abh. d. Münchn.* ).

*Decay*<sup>1</sup> and the *Meteorology*.<sup>2</sup> Connected with these leading works (so far as they are not to be classed as sections of them under special names, or as spurious),

*Akad.* iii. 313 sq.), but the original text is to be found in the smaller edition of Bekker and in that of Prantl. The Aristotelian origin of B. vi. c. 9, 10 is rightly maintained by Brandis (ii. b, 889) against Weisse.

<sup>1</sup> The Π. οὐρανοῦ in 4, and the Π. γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς in two books. The current division of these books, however, can hardly be derived from Aristotle, for books iii. and iv. of the Π. οὐρανοῦ are more nearly connected with the other treatise than are the earlier books. Aristotle recognises both by a short reference to their contents in the beginning of the *Meteorol.*, and by citing *De Caelo* ii. 7 in *Meteorol.* i. 3 . . . περὶ τὸν ἄνω τόπον . . . ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν διωρισμένοις; to the *Gen. et Corr.* i. 10 (not *Meteor.* iv.) *De Sensu* c. 3, 440, b, 3, 12 (ἐν τοῖς περὶ μίξεως); to the *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 2, *De An.* ii. 11, 423, b, 29, *De Sensu*, c. 4, 441, b, 12 (ἐν τοῖς περὶ στοιχείων). A work Π. οὐρανοῦ is ascribed by SIMP. (*De Caelo*, Schol. in Ar. 468, a, 11, 498, b, 9, 42, 502, a, 43) also to Theophrastus, who is said to have followed the lines of Aristotle's book. With this exception the earliest witnesses to the existence of the work are Xenarchus and Nicolaus of Damascus (v. BRANDIS, *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 952), but there is no doubt of the authenticity either of these books or of the Π. γενέσεως. From STOB. *Ecl.* i. 486, 536 we cannot, with IDELER

*Ar. Meteorol.* i. 415, ii. 199 (nor from CIC. *N. D.* ii. 15, and PLUT. *Plac.* v. 20) infer that the Π. οὐρανοῦ was originally more complete or existed in a recension different from ours.

<sup>2</sup> AN. *App.* 150, *Μετεωρολογικά*; PT. 37, Π. μετεώρων δ' ἡ μετεωροσκοπία; PT. 76 do. with two books only. This work, as above observed, places itself, in its opening chapter, in immediate connection with the works last discussed; and its genuineness is beyond doubt. Aristotle himself does not name it (for *De Plant.* ii. 2, 822, b, 32 is a spurious book), but he frequently recalls its doctrines; cf. BONITZ, *Ind.* Ar. 102, b, 49. According to ALEX. *Meteor.* 91 and Olympiod. *ap.* IDELER, *Ar. Meteor.* i. 137, 222, 286, Theophrastus in his *μεταρσιολογικά* (DIOG. v. 44) seems to have imitated it. Ideler (*ibid.* i. vii. sq.) shows that it was known to Aratus, Philochorus, Agathemerus, Polybius, and Posidonius. Eratosthenes, however, seems not to have known it; cf. *ibid.* i. 462. Of the four books, the last seems from its contents not to have originally belonged to the same treatise. ALEX. (*Meteor.* 126, a) and AMMON. (*ap.* Olympiod. in IDELER, *Ar. Meteor.* i. 133) prefer to connect it with the Π. γενέσεως; but it is not adapted to that work either. Since it has all the appearance of being Aristotelian, and is cited by Aristotle (*Part. An.* ii. 2, 649, a, 23; cf. *Meteor.*

are a variety of other treatises on natural philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

iv. 10, *Gen. An.* ii. 6, 743, a, 6; cf. *Meteor.* iv. 6, 383, b, 9, 384, a, 33), it must be taken to be an isolated section, which was not contemplated, in this form, when the *Meteorology* was begun (v. *Meteor.* i. 1 *ad fin.*), but which in the end took the place of the further matter that remained to be dealt with at the end of book iii., which obviously does not itself bring the treatise to a close. As Bonitz (*Ind. Ar.* 98, b, 53) notices in criticising Heitz, this book (c. 8, 384, b, 33) cites *Meteor.* iii. 677, 378, a, 15 (cf. on this subject IDELER, *ibid.* ii. 347-360; SPENGLER, 'Ueb. d. Reihenfolge d. naturwissensch. Schriften d. Arist.', *Abhandl. d. Münchn. Akad.* v. 150 sq.; BRANDIS, *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 1073, 1076; ROSE, *Arist. Libr. Ord.* 197). The doubts alluded to by Olympiod. *ibid.* i. 131, as to book i. are unsupported; the reasons given by Ideler (i. xii. sq.) for holding that two recensions of the *Meteor.* existed in antiquity are not convincing. The points which he supposed to have been found in another edition of this, are for the most part referable to other works, and where that is not so (SEN. *Qu. Nat.* vii. 28, 1; cf. *Meteor.* i. 7, 344, b, 18) our informant may be in error. But it is possible that these points may have come from an edition that had been expanded by a later hand or largely added to; cf. BRANDIS, p. 1075.

<sup>1</sup> The *Physics* have the following titles: Π. ἀρχῶν ἢ φύσεως α' (AN. 21), ἐν τοῖς π. τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς ὅλης φύσεως (THEMIST. *De An.* ii. 71, 76), ἐν τοῖς π. τῶν

ἀρχῶν (*ibid.* 93), Π. κινήσεως (D. 45, 115; AN. 102, 1 B; PT. 17, 8 B; the same again as *Auscultatio physica*, at No. 34; and perhaps also as Π. ἀρχῆς at D. 41). In what relation the same work stands to the titles: Π. φύσεως (D. 90 as three books, AN. 81, as one); Φυσικὴν α' (D. 91); or Π. φυσικῶν α' (AN. 82) is not clear. AN. App. 170, PT. 85: Π. χρόνου might also be only an extract including *Phys.* iv. 10-14, though it is preferable to think of it as a special treatise by some of the Peripatetics. Aristotle himself refers with the words ἐν τοῖς π. στοιχείων in the *De An.* ii. 11, 423, b, 28, and the *De Sensu*, 4, 441, a, 12, to the *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 2 sqq. Whether in D. 39, AN. 35, the title Π. στοιχείων γ' only refers to this work (possibly in connection with *De Caelo* iii. and iv., cf. p. 50, n. 1; or with *Meteor.* iv., cf. *Fr. Hz.* 156), or whether it means a special collection of several Aristotelian tracts relating to the elements, or whether there was a separate treatise (which could not be considered genuine) must remain an open question.—So, again, as to the book Π. τοῦ πᾶσχειν ἢ πεπονθέναι (D. 25): Aristotle in *De An.* ii. 5, 417, a, 1, and in *Gen. Anim.* iv. 3, 768, b, 23 refers by the formula, ἐν τοῖς π. τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ πᾶσχειν, to *Gen. et Corr.* i. 7 sq., a reference doubted by Trendelenburg (*De An. ibid.*) and by Heitz (*V. S.* 80), but which it seems impossible, on comparison of the passages, to reject (cf. with *Gen. An.* p. 324, a, 30 sq.; with *De An.* 416, b, 35, and 323, a, 10 sq.; with *De An.* 417

Another class of writings, less directly akin, are the

a, 1, τοῦτο δὲ πῶς δυνατόν ἢ ἀδύνατον, εἰρήκαμεν, etc., and 325, b, 25, πῶς δὲ ἐνδέχεται τοῦτο συμβαίνειν, πάλιν λέγωμεν, etc.). It suggests itself, therefore, either to apply the title in DIOG. to this section only or to the whole of book i. If, however, a separate treatise is meant, then it seems more likely that it was analogous to the *Gen. et Corr.* than that (as TREND. *Gesch. d. Kategor.*, 130, supposes) it treated generally of the categories of Action and Passion.—With Physics also was connected the tract *De questionibus hylieis*, PT. 50, and perhaps also PT. 75, *De accidentibus universis*, both without doubt spurious. So must be also AN. *App.* 184, Π. κόσμον γενέσεως, which cannot have been written by Aristotle, who so decisively combats the idea of a beginning of the world. The book Π. κόσμου (which is not even known to our three lists) was written at the earliest 50–1 B.C.; cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* iii. a, 558. The so-called quotation from a work Π. μίξεως, given by Minoides Mynas, in his edition of Gennadius against Pletho (*Fr. Hz.* 157), belongs perhaps to the *διαρίσεις* spoken of p. 75, n. 2.—Many of the books we hear of as related to the subject of the *Meteor.* seem to have been spurious. A work Π. ἀνέμων (ACHILL. TAT. in *Ar.* c. 33, 158 A; *Fr. Hz.* 350; ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 622) was ascribed to Aristotle, probably by a confusion between him and Theophrastus (*de q. v.* DIOG. v. 42; ALEX. *Meteor.* 101, b, 106, a, etc.); and so with the *Σημεῖα χειμώνων* (D. 112, or *ap.* AN. 99,

*Σημεῖα*[i] *χειμώνων*, or in the title *ap. Ar. Opp.* ii. 973, Π. σημείων), for the *Fr.* of which v. *Ar. Fr.* 237 sq. 1521; *Fr. Hz.* 157; *Ar. Ps.* 243 sq. The Π. ποταμῶν (PS.-PLUT. *De Fluv.* c. 25 *ad fin.*; HEITZ, *V. S.* 297; *Fr. Hz.* 349) seems to have been a late compilation. Of much earlier date (according to Rose, either by Theophrastus or of his time) is AN. *App.* 159; PT. 22, Π. τῆς τοῦ Νείλου ἀναβάσεως, *de q. v.* ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 239 sq.; *Ar. Fr.* p. 1520; *Fr. Hz.* 211. The treatises *De Humoribus* and *De Siccitate*, *ap.* PT. 73, 74, cannot be genuine, as they are mentioned nowhere else. As to the Π. χρωμάτων, well founded objections have been raised by Prantl (*Ar. u. d. Farben*, Münch., 1849, p. 82; cf. 107, 115, 142, etc.).—Alex. in *Meteor.* 98, b, and Olympiod. in *Meteor.* 36, a (*ap.* IDELER, *Ar. Meteor.* i. 287 sq.) allege that Aristotle wrote a book Π. χυμῶν, but neither seems to have known it. So Michael of Ephesus, *De Vita et M.* 175, b, remarks that Aristotle's Π. φυτῶν καὶ χυλῶν was lost, so that it was necessary to rely on Theophrastus. Aristotle himself alludes in *Meteor.* ii. 3, 353, b, 20, to some more extended inquiry into the qualities of things relating to the sense of taste; and since in the late *De Sensu*, c. iv. *ad fin.*, further inquiries on the same subject are projected as part of the work on Plants, it is a question whether we should refer the allusion in *Meteor.* ii. to a separate book Π. χυμῶν, and not consider it rather as a later interpolation referring to *De Sensu*!

mathematical, mechanical, optical, and astronomical tracts.<sup>1</sup>

c. 4, and *De An.* ii. 10.—Aristotle contemplates at the end of *Meteor.* iii. a work on Metals, and the commentators mention a *μονόβιβλος π. μετάλλων*. See SIMPL. *Phys.* 1, a; *De Caelo*, Schol. in Ar. 468, b, 25; DAMASC. *De Caelo*, ibid. 454, a, 22; PHILOP. *Phys.* a, 1, m. (who, however, on the *Meteorologia*, i. 135 id., speaks as if he did not know such a tract); OLYMPIOD. in *Meteor.* i. 133 id. Some, with more reason, attribute the book to Theophrastus (POLLUX, *Onomast.* vii. 99, x. 149; cf. DIOG. v. 44; THEOPHR. *De Lapid.* init.; ALEX. *Meteor.* 126, a, ii. 161 id.; and see ROSE, *Arist. Ps.* 254 sq., 261 sq.; *Ar. Fr.* 242 sq. S. 1523; *Fr. H.* 161). Against the idea that *Meteor.* iii. 7, 378, b, 5; iv. 8, 384, b, 34, refers to the *π. μετ.* (on which see HEITZ, p. 68), see BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 98, b, 53. We know nothing of the *De metalli fodinis* (Hadschi Khalfa, *ap. WENRICH, De Auct. Gr. Vets. Arab.* 160). The tract on the Magnet (*π. τῆς λίθου*, D. 125; AN. 117; ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 242; *Fr. H.* 215) was probably spurious. That *De lapidibus*, which was much used by the Arabs (HADSCHI KH. *loc. cit.* 159; see MEYER, *Nicol. Damasc. De plantis*, praef. p. xi.; ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 181 sq., *Ar. Ps.* 255 sq.), was certainly so.

<sup>1</sup> *Μαθηματικὸν α'* (D. 63; AN. 53), *π. τῆς ἐν τοῖς μαθήματι οὐσίας* (AN. *App.* 160), *π. μονάδος* (D. 111; AN. 100), *π. μεγέθους* (D. 85; AN. 77, unless this was a Rhetorical tract; see p. 72, 2

*ad fin.*). The *π. ἀτόμων Γραμμῶν* (*Ar. Opp.* ii. 968 sq.), which in our lists is only named by PT. 10, and never cited by Aristotle himself, was also ascribed with much likelihood to Theophrastus by SIMPL. *De Caelo*, Schol. in Ar. 510, b, 10, and PHILOP. *Gen. et Corr.* 8 b, whereas PHILOP. *ad Gen. et Corr.* 37, a, and *ad Phys.* m. 8, treats it simply as by Aristotle. Its genuineness is doubted also by ROSE (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 193). The reference in EUTOC. *ad Archim. de Circ. Dimens. proom.* does not mean that Aristotle wrote a book on squaring the circle; the allusion is merely to *Soph. El.* 11, 174, b, 14 or *Phys.* i. 2, 185, a, 16. Without further explanation Simpl. (*Categ.* 1 ζ) names Aristotle's *γεωμετρικὰ τε καὶ μηχανικὰ βιβλία*; but the extant *Μηχανικὰ* (in D. 123; AN. 114, called *μηχανικὸν* [-ών], but more correctly *ap.* PT. 18, *Μηχ. προβλήματα*) are certainly not from the hand of Aristotle; cf. ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 192.—D. 114, *Ὀπτικὸν α'* [-ών, sc. *προβλημάτων*]; AN. 103, *Ὀπτικὰ βιβλία*; cf. DAVID in *Categ.* Schol. 25, a, 36; ANON. *Proleg. in Metaph.* ap. ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 377, and *Fr. H.* 215: *Ὀπτικὰ προβλήμ., V. Marc.* p. 2 and p. 8. It is clear from a reference in a Latin translation of Hero's *κατοπτρικά* (*circ.* 230 B.C.) *ap.* ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 378; *Ar. Fr.* 1534; *Fr. H.* 216, and from the Pseud. *Ar. Problems*, xvi. 1 *ad fin.*, that such a book had currency under Aristotle's name at an early date. Its genuineness is not, however, assured, though it is very pro-

Next to the *Physics* and the related treatises come the numerous and important works dealing with life. Some of these are descriptive, others are inquiries. To the former class belong the *History of Animals*<sup>1</sup> and the

bable that among Aristotle's genuine *Problems* there were some in Optics. The *De Speculo*, attributed by Arabic and Christian Middle-Age writers to Aristotle, appears to be only Euclid's *Κατοπτρικά* (ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 376).—D. 113; AN. 101, report an 'Ἀστρονομικὸν; and Aristotle himself refers to such a work in *Meteor.* i. 3, 339, b, 7 (ἤδη γὰρ ᾧπται διὰ τῶν ἀστρολογικῶν θεωρημάτων ἡμῶν), *ibid.* c. 8, 346, b, 1 (καθάπερ δεικνύται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀστρολογίαν θεωρήμασιν), and *De Cælo*, ii. 10, 291, a, 29 (περὶ δὲ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῶν etc. ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἀστρολογίαν θεωρείσθω· λέγεται γὰρ ἰκανῶς); SIMPL. on the *De Cælo*, Schol. 497, a, 8, appears to have the same in his mind. The existence of the book is accepted, of modern scholars, by Bonitz (*Ind. Ar.* 104, a, 17 sq.) and Prantl (*ad* Π. οὐρ. p. 303); while Heitz (*S. V.* p. 117) thinks it probable, though in *Fr. Hz.* 160 he refuses to decide. Blass (*Rhein. Mus.* xxx. 504) applies the references to writings by other hands. Ideler (*Ar. Metaph.* i. 415) assumes a varying recension of the *De Cælo*, which has no probability. It does not seem probable that this Astronomical—or as Aristotle would have called it (v. HEITZ, *ibid.*) Astrological—work took the form of Problems, since Aristotle repeatedly speaks of *θεωρήματα*. Not to it, but to late interpolated tracts, are the

titles to be referred which are mentioned by Hadschi Khalfa (p. 159–161): *De siderum arcanis*, *De sideribus eorumque arcanis*, *De stellis labentibus*, and *Mille verba de astrologia judiciaria*. As to the accuracy of the other mathematical and related writings, we can decide nothing. The attempt of Rose (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 192) to prove that none of them can be Aristotle's does not succeed.

<sup>1</sup> Π. τὰ ζῶα ἱστορία (Π. ζῶων ἱστορίας i', AN. *App.* 155; the same is meant by D. 102 and AN. 91, Π. ζῶων, nine books, and by PT. 42). The Arabic writers count ten, fifteen, or nineteen books, and had no doubt expanded the extant text by various added tracts; cf. WENRICH, *De Auct. Græc. Vers.* 148. Aristotle quotes it by various names: ἱστορίαι [-ία] π. τὰ ζῶα (*Part. Anim.* iii. 14, 674, b, 16; iv. 5, 680, a, 1; iv. 8 *ad fin.*; iv. 10, 689, a, 18; iv. 13, 696, b, 14; *Gen. An.* i. 4, 717, a, 33; i. 20, 728, b, 13; *Respir.* c. 16, *init.*); ἱστορίαι π. τῶν ζῶων (*Part. Anim.* ii. 1, *init.* c. 17, 660, b, 2; *Gen. Anim.* i. 3, 716, b, 31; *Respir.* c. 12, 477, a, 6), ζωική ἱστορία (*Part. Anim.* iii. 5, *fin.*), ἱστορία φυσική (*Part. Anim.* ii. 3, 650, a, 31; *Ingr. An.* c. 1, *fin.*), and simply ἱστορίαι or ἱστορία (*De Respir.* 16, 478, b, 1; *Gen. Anim.* i. 11, 719, a, 10; ii. 4, 740, a, 23; c. 7, 746, a, 14; iii. 1, 750, b, 31; c. 2, 753, b, 17; c. 8 *fin.*; c. 10 *fin.*; c. 11 *fin.*).

In its contents, however, it is rather a Comparative Anatomy and Physiology than a description of animals. As to the plan of it, cf. J. B. MEYER, *Ar. Thierk.* 114 sq. Its genuineness is beyond question, though as to the tenth book, it must be taken to be, not merely with Spengel (*De Ar. Libro X Hist. Anim.* Heidelb. 1842), a retranslation of a Latin translation of a section written by Aristotle to follow book vii., but wholly spurious; with Schneider (iv. 262, i. xiii.), Rose (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 171), and Brandis (*Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. 6, 1257). Apart from anything else the un-Aristotelian assumption of a female semen would prove this of itself. No doubt this book is the same as that in D. 107, AN. 90, ὑπὲρ [περὶ] τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν. As to Alexander's reported assistance for the whole work, cf. p. 29 sq. *supra*; and as to the sources used by Aristotle, cf. ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 206 sq.— Besides this History of Animals, there were known to the ancients various similar works. Athenæus, for example, uses one work different (as is clear from his own words) from our *Hist. An.*, under the names ἐν τῷ π. Ζῴων, ἐν τοῖς π. Ζ. (ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 277, and HEITZ, 224, unnecessarily read Ζωϊκῶν), ἐν τῷ π. Ζωϊκῶν, ἐν τῷ περιγραφομένῳ Ζωϊκῷ, ἐν τῷ π. Ζῴων ἢ [καὶ] Ἰχθύων, ἐν τῷ π. Ζωϊκῶν καὶ Ἰχθύων, ἐν τῷ π. Ἰχθύων; but at the same time he curiously cites our *Hist. An.* v., as πέμπτον π. ζῴων μορῶν (see the notes of Schweighäuser on the passages in question; e.g. ii. 63, b; iii. 88; c. vii. 281 sq., 286, b; and the Index, and see ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 276 sq.; *Ar. Fr.* Nr. 277 sq.;

HEITZ, 224 sq.; *Fr. Hz.* 172). So CLEMENS, *Pædag.* ii. 150, C (cf. ATHEN. vii. 315, e) seems to refer to the same lost work, and Apollonius (*Mirabil.* c. 27) mentions it, distinguishing it expressly from the extant *Hist. An.* (π. ζῴων). Parts of this lost work are probably indicated by the names: π. θηρίων (ERATOSTH. *Catasterismi*, c. 41, and therefrom the Scholion in GERMANICUS, *Aratea Phænom.* v. 427, Arat. ed. BUHLE, ii. 88); ὑπὲρ τῶν μυθολογομένων ζῴων (D. 106; AN. 95); ὑπὲρ τῶν συνθέτων ζῴων (D. 105; AN. 92); π. τῶν φελεόντων (PTOL. 23, 'fari tyulin'). DIOG. v. 44 attributes a treatise of that name, doubtless the same, to Theophrastus, from which come the *Fragm.* 176–178, Wimm. *apud* ATHEN. ii. 63; c. iii. 105 d; vii. 314, b. To it also refers the notice in PLUT. *Qu. Conv.* 8, 9, 3, which ROSE, *Ar. Fr.* 38, refers to the Dialogue 'Eudemus,' and HEITZ, *Fragm. Ar.* 217, to the *ιατρικά*. The citations from this and similar works, sometimes under the name of Aristotle, sometimes of Theophrastus, will be found in ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 276–372; *Ar. Fr.* 257–334, p. 1525 sq.; *Fr. Hz.* 171 sq. PLIN. (*H. Nat.* viii. 16, 44) says Aristotle wrote about fifty, and ANTIGONUS (*Mirab.* c. 60 [66]) says about seventy books on Animals. Of all these it is clear that none but the first nine of our *Hist. An.* were genuine. The work which Athen. used (which is not Aristotle's style, to judge by the *Fr.*) seems to have been a compilation from them and other sources, belonging, in view of the passage quoted from Antigonos, to the third century B.C.



*Anatomical Descriptions.*<sup>1</sup> The latter class begin with the three books *On the Soul*,<sup>2</sup> on which several other anthropological tracts follow.<sup>3</sup> The further investi-

<sup>1</sup> The *'Anatomai* (seven books, in D. 103, AN. 93) are very often cited by Aristotle (cf. BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 104, a, 4, and *Fr. Hs.* 160), and it is not possible with Rose (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 188) to explain these references away. We know from *H. An.* i. 17, 497, a, 31, iv. 1, 525, a, 8, vi. 11, 566, a, 15; *Gen. An.* ii. 7, 746, a, 14; *Part. An.* iv. 5, 680, a, 1; and *De Respir.* 16, 478, a, 35, that the *'Anatomai* were furnished with drawings, which were perhaps the principal point of the work. The Schol. on *Ingr. An.* 178, b (after Simpl. *De Anima*), can hardly have cited the work from his own knowledge. Apuleius (*De Mag.* c. 36, 40) talks of a work of Aristotle, Π. ζώνων ἀνατομῆς, as universally known; but it is seldom mentioned elsewhere, and Apuleius himself possibly meant the Π. ζώνων μορίων. The extract from the work—ἐκλογὴ ἀνατομῶν, D. 104, AN. 94, APOLLON. *Mirab.* c. 39—was certainly not by Aristotle. Heitz (*Fr.* 171) rightly rejects Rose's opinion (*Ar. Ps.* 276) that the ἀνατομαί were one work with the ζώικα. AN. 187 gives an ἀνατομὴ ἀνθρώπου among the *Pseudopigr.* Aristotle did not human anatomy (cf. *H. An.* iii. 3, 513, a, 12, i. 16 *init.* and see LEWES, *Aristotle*).

<sup>2</sup> The Π. ψυχῆς is often cited by Aristotle in the lesser treatises presently to be mentioned (BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 102, b, 60 sq.), and in the *Gen. An.* ii. 3, v. 1, 7, 736, a, 37, 779, b, 23, 786, b, 25, 288, b, 1, *Part. An.* iii. 10, 673,

a, 30, *De Interpr.* i. 16, a, 8, *De Motu An.* c. 6 *init.* and c. 11 *ad fin.*, and must therefore be earlier than these books. Ideler (*Ar. Meteor.* ii. 360) is not correct in saying that the reverse follows from the end of *Meteor.* i. 1. The words in the *Ingr. An.* c. 19 *ad fin.* which name this book as only projected and the Π. ζώνων μορίων as in existence, are (with Brandis ii. 6, 1078) to be considered as a gloss only. Of its three books the first two seem in a more complete state than the third. Torstrik, in the preface to his edition of 1862, has shown that there are preserved traces of a second recension of book ii., and that confusing repetitions have crept into the present text of book iii. through a combination of two recensions made before the date of Alexander of Aphrodisias; and the same appears to be true of book i. also. Singularly enough D. and AN. do not mention the work; but PT. 38 has it; whereas D. 73 and AN. 68 give Θέσεις π. ψυχῆς α'. The *Eudemus* ought also to be reckoned with Aristotle's psychology: see the accounts of it at pp. 55, n. 4, 56, n. 2, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> To this class belong the following extant treatises, which all relate to the κοινὰ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἔργα (*De An.* iii. 10, 433, 20):—(1) Π. αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν. Its proper name probably was Π. αἰσθήσεως only (cf. IDELER, *Ar. Meteor.* i. 650, ii. 358); and it is cited by Aristotle in the Π. ζ. μορίων and the Π. ζ.

γενέσεις (BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 103, a, 8 sq.), *De Memor.* c. 1, *init.*, *De Somno* 2, 456, a, 2 (*De Motu Anim.* c. 11 *fin.*), and announced as coming in the *Meteor.* i. 3, 341, a, 14.—TREDELENBURG, *De An.* 118 (106) sq. (*contra* ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 219, 226; BRANDIS, *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 2, 1191, 284; BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 99, b, 54, 100, b, 30, 40) believes that the Π. αἰσθ. is mutilated, and that it is a separated section of it which is preserved as the ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἀκουστών, *Ar. Opp.* ii. 800 sq. It is certain that some of the references in later writings cannot be satisfactorily verified in our present text. According to the *Gen. An.* v. 2, 781, a, 20, and *Part. An.* ii. 10, 656, a, 27, it was explained ἐν τοῖς περὶ αἰσθήσεως that the canals of the organs of sense started from the heart; but, on the contrary, in the only applicable passage of the extant treatise (c. 2, 438, b, 25) we are told that the organs of smell and sight are seated near the brain, out of which they are formed, but those of taste and touch in the heart. It is not until the *De Vita et M.* c. 3, 469, a, 10 that he adds that the heart is the seat of perception for the other senses also (only not φανερώς as for these); and here l. 22 sq. refers to the passage of the Π. αἰσθ. just cited (for it is only there, and not in the *Part. An.* ii. 10, as cited *Ind. Ar.* 99, b, 5, that the different positions are assigned to the organs of sense). From these facts it does not follow that a section dealing with this point is omitted in our text, but rather that the words ἐν τοῖς Π. αἰσθ. in *Gen. An.* v. 2 and *Part. An.* ii. 10 are to be taken in a

wide sense, as including all the anthropological treatises which are introduced by Π. αἰσθ. 1 *init.*, as by a common preface.—The same explanation will account for the statement in *Part. An.* ii. 7, 653, a, 19 that Aristotle would speak ἐν τε τοῖς Π. αἰσθήσεως καὶ Π. ὕπνου διαρισμένοις of the causes and effects of sleep. The subject is to be found only *De Somno*, 2, 3, 458, a, 13 sq., and no fitting place for its introduction can be found in our Π. αἰσθ. Probably it did not occur in the original text either; and we are to understand the reference as indicating by Π. αἰσθ. the general, and by Π. ὕπνου the particular description of one and the same treatise (in which view τε should perhaps be dropped).—So finally in *Gen. An.* v. 7, 786, b, 23, 788, a, 34 there are allusions to investigations as to the voice ἐν τοῖς Π. ψυχῆς and Π. αἰσθήσεως. These are to be referred chiefly to *De An.* ii. 8, and secondarily to c. 1, 437, a, 3 sq., 446, b, 2 sq., and 12 sq., whereas the beginning of c. 4 of the *De An.* itself tells us that it was beyond the plan of that treatise to give any detailed account of voice and tone, such as we find in the extant fragment Π. ἀκουστών. The last-named work is never cited by Aristotle, and contains no express references to any of his books. In fact its own broad and sketchy methods of exposition show it to be the work not of the founder, but of a later scholar of the Peripatetic school, probably however of one of its earliest generations. (2) Π. μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως, PT. 40, is quoted in the *De Motu An.* c. 11, *ad fin.* and by the Commentators. The book of Mnemonics noticed

p. 72, n. 2 *fin. supra*, has nothing to do with it. (3) Π. ὕπνου καὶ ἐγρηγόρεως cited *De Longit. V., Part. An., Gen. An., Motu An.*, and announced as in contemplation (*Ind. Ar.* 103, a, 16 sq) by *De An.* iii. 9, 432, b, 11, *De Sensu*, c. 1, 436, a, 12 sq. It is frequently connected with (2) (but clearly for external reasons only) as if they were one treatise, Π. μνήμης καὶ ὕπνου (GELL. vi. 6, ALEX. *Top.* 279, Schol 296, b, 1, copied SUID. μνήμη, Alex. *De Sensu*, 125, b, MICHAEL, in *Arist. De Mem.* 127, a, *Ptol.* 4). It is, however, clear from *Arist. Divin. in Somn.* c. 2, *fin.*, that it was in fact bracketed with (4) Π. ἔνστικτων and (5) Π. τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν μαντικῆς. (4) is also in the *De Somno*, 2, 456, a, 27, announced as in preparation. (6) Π. μακροβιότητος καὶ βραχυβιότητος, cited, not by name, *Part. An.* iii. 10, 673, a, 30, and by name ATHEN. viii. 353, a, *Pr.* 46, and perhaps also AN. *App.* 141. (7) Π. ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου: to which (8) Π. ἀναπνοῆς, is in Aristotle's view so closely related that they form one whole (*De Vita et M.* c. 1, *init.* 467, b, 11, *De Respir.* c. 21, 486, b, 21). There was a third tract, Π. νεότητος καὶ γήρως, spoken of by Aristotle (467, b, 6, 10), to which our editors ascribe the first two chapters of the Π. ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, but clearly without reason, for it seems more probable either that Aristotle never wrote the tract or that it was lost at a very early date (cf. BRANDIS, 1191, BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 103, a, 26 sq, HEITZ, p. 58).—Inasmuch as the *De Vita et Morte*, c. 3, 468, b, 31 (cf. *De Respir.* c. 7, 473, a, 27) mentions the Essay on the Parts of Animals as already exist-

ing (cf. ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.*, who wrongly refers to *Hist. An.* iii. 3, 513, a, 21), and as the Essay on Life and Death is spoken of in the *De Longit. V.* c. 6, 467, b, 6 as the conclusion of the inquiries concerning animals, Brandis (1192 sq.) suggests that only the first half of the so-called 'Parva Naturalia' (Nos. 1-5) was composed immediately after the *De Anima*; and that the rest of these (which in Ptolemy's catalogue stand at No. 46 sq. divided from the books on Sense, Sleep, and Memory by the books on Zoology) were not written until after the works on the Parts, the Movement, and the Generation of Animals, though projected earlier. And it is true that in the *De Generat. Anim.* iv. 10, 777, b, 8, we hear that inquiries into the reason of the varying duration of life are projected, and these are not further dealt with in that work. But on the other hand the *Part. An.* iii. 6, 669, a, 4 refers to *De Respir.* c. 10, 16, and the same iv. 13, 696, b, 1, and 697, a, 22, to *De Respir.* c. 10, 13; and *Gen. An.* v. 2, 781, a, 20, as already observed, to *De Vita et Morte*, 3, 469, a, 10, sq. (cf. *Ind. Ar.* 103, a, 23, 34, sq., where the other references are more problematical). If Brandis is right, these references must have been added, as does sometimes happen, to works previously completed. As to the genuineness of the writings already named, it is guaranteed not only by internal evidence, but by the references referred to.—Another projected tract, Π. νόσου καὶ ὑγίειας (*De Sensu* c. 1, 436, a, 17, *Long. Vit.* c. 1, 464, b, 32, *Respir.* c. 21, 480, b, 22, *Part. An.* ii. 7,

gations *On the Parts of Animals*,<sup>1</sup> with the connected essays on the Generation<sup>2</sup> and the Movement of

653, a, 8), was probably never written (though Heitz, p. 58 and *Fr. Ar.* 169, thinks otherwise). It is unknown to ALEXANDER, *De Sensu*, 94, and therefore it is likely that the *De Sanitate et Morbo* known by the Arabic writers (Hadschi Khalfa *apud* WENRICH, 160) was a forgery. Two books Π. ὁψέως (AN. *App.* 173) and one Π. φωνῆς (*ibid.* 164) could hardly be genuine (cf. p. 86, n. 1).—A book Π. τροφῆς seems to be referred to as existing in the *De Somno*, c. 3, 456, b, 5 (the reference in *Meteor.* iv. 3, 381, b, 13 being too uncertain), and it is spoken of as a project in *De An.* ii. 4 *fin.*, *Gen. An.* v. 4, 784, b, 2, *Part. An.* ii. 3, 650, b, 10, and c. 7, 653, b, 14, and c. 14, 674 a, 20, and iv. 4, 678, a, 19. The reference in *De Motu An.* 10, 703, a, 10 (cf. MICHAEL EPHES. *ad loc.* p. 156, a) is not to a Π. τροφῆς, but to the Π. πνεύματος: for the words *τίς μὲν οὖν ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ συμφύτου πνεύματος εἶρηται ἐν ἔλλοις* clearly relate to the words *τίς ἡ τοῦ ἐμφύτου πνεύματος διαμονή*; (Π. πνευ. *init.*). (So BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 100, a, 52; but ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 167 makes them refer to the Π. ζώ. κινήσ. itself, and HEITZ, *Fr. Ar.* 168 to the Π. τροφῆς.) The work is named in PT. No. 20, where it is wrongly given three books. It dealt with food and other matters in an aphoristic style; and that it is later than Aristotle is clear from the fact that it recognised the distinction of veins and arteries, which was unknown to him (cf. *Ind. Ar.* 109, b, 22, sq.). In any case it is

Peripatetic; cf. further *ap.* ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 167, sq., and Brandis, p. 1203, who both with Bonitz reject the book.

<sup>1</sup> Π. ζών μωπλων four books—(in AN. *App.* 157, three books): cited in the *De Gen. An.*, *Ingr. An.*, *Motu An.* (cf. *Ind. Ar.* 103, a, 55 sq), and the *De Vita et M.* and *De Respir.* (*de q. v.* p. 91, *supra*)—but the *De Somno*, 3, 457, b, 28 might be referred to *De Sensu*, 2, 438, b, 28, though *De Somno*, c. 2, 455, b, 34 may be better paralleled by *Part. An.* iii. 3, 665, a, 10 sq., than by *De Sensu*, 2, 438, b, 25 sq. It is spoken of as projected in *Meteor.* i. 1, 339, a, 7, and *Hist. An.* ii. 17, 507, a, 25. The first book is a kind of introduction to the zoological works, including the treatises on the Soul, and the activities and conditions of life, and it cannot well have been originally meant for this place (cf. SPENGEL, 'On the order of Aristotle's books on Natural Philosophy,' *Abh. d. Münch. Akad.* iv. 159, and the others there cited).

<sup>2</sup> Π. ζών γενέσεως, five books (in AN. *App.* 158, three books, PT. No. 44, five books, *ibid.* No. 77, the same work in two books; the errors are of no significance). It is often referred to by Aristotle, but only in the future (cf. *Ind. Ar.* 103, b, 8 sq.). DIOG. omits it; but its genuineness is beyond doubt. Book v., however, seems not to belong to it, but to be an appendix to the works on the Parts and Generation of Animals, just as the

Animals,<sup>1</sup> complete his zoological system. Later in date, but earlier in their place in his teaching, were the lost books *On Plants*.<sup>2</sup> Other treatises touching this

'Parva Naturalia' are to the *De Anima*. For summaries of the contents of the *Part. An.* and the *Generat. Anim.* see MEYER, *Arist. Thierk.* 128 sq., and LEWES, *Ar.* c. 16 sq. The tract *De Coitu* (Hadschi Khalfa, *ap.* Wenrich, p. 159) was spurious: for it cannot be referred, as Wenrich refers it, to the title Π. μίξεως in *De Sensu*, c. 3 (cf. p. 83, n. 1, *supra*). As to the book Π. τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν, v. p. 88, *supra*.

<sup>1</sup> Π. ζῶων ποτείας, cited by that name in *Part. An.* iv. 11, 690, b, 15 and 692, a, 17, as the Π. ποτείας καὶ κινήσεως τῶν ζῶων in *Part. An.* iv. 13, 696, a, 12, and as Π. τῶν ζῶων κινήσεως in the *De Caelo*, ii. 2, 284, b, 13, cf. *Ingr. An.* c. 4, 5, c. 2, 704, b, 18; yet it itself cites (c. 5, 706, b, 2) the *Part. An.* iv. 9, 684, a, 14, 34, as an earlier work. According to its concluding words in c. 19 (which, as already suggested at p. 89, n. 2, may be spurious) it is later than the Π. ζῶων μορίων, to which also its introductory words seem to refer back; and yet it is frequently cited in that work, and at its close (*Part. An.* 697, b, 29) there is no hint of an essay on Movement as still to come. Probably it was, in fact, composed while the larger work was in progress.—The tract Π. ζῶων κινήσεως can hardly be authentic; among other reasons, because it cites the Π. πνεύματος (cf. p. 89, n. 3 *fin.*). Rose (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 163 sq.) and Brandis (ii. b, 1, p. 1271, 482) declare it spurious: Barthélemy St. Hilaire

(*Psych. d'Arist.* 237) accepts it as genuine. Of the Indices, *AN. App.* No. 156, and *PT.* No. 41, have the Π. ζῶων κινήσεως, and *PT.* No. 45, Π. ζῶων ποτείας.

<sup>2</sup> Π. φυτῶν β' (*D.* 108, *AN.* 96, *PT.* 48). Promised by Aristotle in *Meteor.* i. 1, 339, a, 7, *De Sensu* c. 4, 442, b, 25, *Long. Vitæ*, 6, 467, b, 4, *De Vita* 2, 468, a, 31, *Part. An.* ii. 10, 656, a, 3, *Gen. An.* i. 1, 716, a, 1, v. 3, 783, b, 20, and cited in *H. An.* v. 1, 539, a, 20, *Gen. An.* i. 23, 731, a, 29 (in the last, it is wrong to change the perfect tense into the future in the words of citation). Though both these references must have been inserted after the books were complete, it is possible that Aristotle may have inserted them. *ALEX.* p. 183, on *De Sensu*, *l.c.*, remarks that a book on Plants by Theophrastus was extant, but none by Aristotle. So *MICHAEL EPHE.* on *De Vita et M.* 175 b, *SIMPLICIUS PHILOP.* &c. (*apud* ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 261, *HEITZ, Fr. Ar.* 163) say the contrary, but we need not suppose they spoke from personal knowledge of the Π. φυτῶν. *Quintil.* (xii. 11, 22) proves nothing for, and *Cic. (Fin.* v. 4, 10) nothing against, their genuineness. What *ATHEN.* (xiv. 652 a, 653 d, &c.) cites from them (*Ar. Fr.* 250-4) may as probably be taken from a false as from a genuine book. The two Aristotelian references mentioned make it, however, overwhelmingly probable that Aristotle did write two books on Plants, which were

still extant in the time of Hermippus, though they were afterwards displaced by the more elaborate work of Theophrastus (so HEITZ, *Ar. Fr.* 250, and *Verl. Schrift.* 61, though ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 261, thinks the books by Theophrastus were ascribed to Aristotle). According to ANTI-GONUS (*Mirabil.* c. 169, cf. 129, *ap. Ar. Fr.* 253, *Fr. Hz.* 223) Callimachus as well as Theophrastus seems to have borrowed from these two books. So did the compiler of the *Ῥυτικά*, as to which POLLUX, x. 170 (*ap. Ar. Fr.* 252, *Fr. Hz.* 224) could not say whether they belonged to Theophrastus or to Aristotle, but which no doubt, like the *ζωικά* mentioned at p. 88, *supra*, were compiled by a later disciple for lexicographical purposes. In like manner, Athenæus and other similar collectors also used these books (cf. ROSE and HEITZ, *ibid.*); and they sometimes distinguish between the phrases used by Aristotle and by Theophrastus (*Ar. Fr.* 254, *Fr. Hz.* 225).—The two extant books Π. *φυτῶν* are emphatically un-Aristotelian. In the older Latin text they have passed already through the hands of two or three translators. Meyer (Pref. to NICOL. DAM. *De Plantis*, ii. ed. 1841) ascribes them in their original form to Nicolaus of Damascus, though possibly they are only an extract from his book, worked over by a later hand. Jessen's suggestion (*Rhein. Mus.* 1859, vol. xiv. 88) that Aristotle's genuine work is contained in the work of Theophrastus is in no way supported by the fact that the latter closely agrees with

what Aristotle elsewhere says, or promises to discuss in his Π. *φυτῶν*: for we know how constantly the earlier Peripatetics adopted the teaching and the very words of Aristotle. On the other hand, the only passage cited verbally from Aristotle's books (ATHEN. xiv. 652 a, *ap. Ar. Fr.* 250) is not in those of Theophrastus, so far as we have them; and the latter contain no direct reference to any of the Aristotelian writings—a circumstance which would be incredible in a work so extensive which touched at so many points the earlier Aristotelian treatises. The very passage (*Caus. Pl.* vi. 4, 1) in which Jessen finds one main proof of his theory points to several later modifications of an Aristotelian doctrine which had arisen in the School after his death. Theophrastus, in contrast with Aristotle's view, speaks of male and female plants (cf. *Caus. Pl.* i. 22, 1, *Hist.* iii. 9, 2, &c.). But a decisive argument is to be found in the fact that not only does the text of Theophrastus speak of Alexander and his Indian expedition in a way (*Hist.* iv. 4, 1, 5, 9, *Caus.* viii. 4, 5) which would be hardly possible in Aristotle's lifetime, but it also refers to what happened in the time of King Antigonus (*Hist.* iv. 8, 4) and the Archons Archippus, B.C. 321 or 318 (*Hist.* iv. 14, 11) and Nicodorus, B.C. 314 (*Caus.* i. 19, 5). It would likewise be clear on a full comparison that the diction and manner of statement in the Theophrastic books makes it impossible to attribute them to Aristotle.

field of work, such as the Anthropology,<sup>1</sup> the Physiognomics,<sup>2</sup> the works on Medicine,<sup>3</sup> Agriculture,<sup>4</sup> and Hunt-

<sup>1</sup> Π. 'Ανθρώπου φύσεως, only named in AN. App. 183. There are a few items which seem to have belonged to this tract, *apud* ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 379, *Ar. Fr.* 257-264, p. 1525, *Fr. Hs.* 189 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Φυσιогνωμονικά (Bekker, 805), [-κὸν α' in D. 109, but -κζ β' in AN. 97]. An extended recension of this work is indicated by the numerous references to physiognomic theories not to be found in our text, which occur in a treatise on Physiognomy written probably by Apuleius (*apud* ROSE, *Aneod. Gr.* 61 sq.; cf. *Fr. Hs.* 191, and ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 696 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> D. mentions two books of *Ἰατρικά*: the ANON. two books Π. *ιατρικῆς*: *ibid.* APP. 167, seven books Π. *ιατρικῆς*: PT. 70 five books of *Προβλήματα ιατρικά* (from which it appears that the *ιατρικά* in the list of Diog. were also problems, book i. of our extant Problems being made up of such medical questions and answers): *Vita Marc.* p. 2 R, *Προβλήματα ιατρικά*: PT. 71 Π. *διαίτης*: *ibid.* 74 b, *De Pulru*: *ibid.* 92, one book *ιατρικὸς*: Hadschi Khalfa ap. WENRICH, p. 159, *De Sanguinis Profusione*: COEL. AUBEL. *Celer. Pass.* ii. 13, one book *De Adjutoris* (perhaps a mistake in the name). Galen in HIPPOCR. *De Nat. Hom.* i. 1, vol. xv. 25 K, knows of an *Ἰατρικὴ συναγωγή* in several books, bearing Aristotle's name, which was nevertheless recognised as being the work of his pupil, Meno; and this is possibly identical with the *Συναγωγή* in two books named by Diog. 89 (as WENRICH, p. 158, suggests).

For the little that remains of it, see ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 384 sq., *Ar. Fr.* 335-341, p. 1534; *Fr. Hs.* 216, but on *Fr.* 362 cf. p. 88, *supra*. The genuineness of these writings, or at least of some of them, cannot be maintained. That Aristotle held that medical subjects should be treated in a technical way, and not from the point of view of natural science, is evident from his own declaration which he makes, p. 9, 1 *fin.* (cf. *De Sensu*, i. 1, 436, a, 17; *Longit. V.* 464, b, 32; *De Respir.* c. 21, *fin.*; *Part. An.* ii. 7, 653, a, 8), and such an indefinite statement as that of Aelian (*V. H.* ix. 22) cannot prove the contrary. As to the composition Π. *νόσου καὶ ὀνείας* see p. 91 *fin.*—Galen (as Heitz *ibid.* justly remarks) can have known no composition of Aristotle on medical science, since he never mentions any such, although he quotes the philosopher more than six hundred times.

<sup>4</sup> AN. 189 mentions the *Γεωργικά* amongst the Pseudepigrapha. PT. 72, on the other hand, gives 15 (or 10) books *De Agricultura* as genuine, and the statement in GEOPON. iii. 3, 4 (*Ar. Fr.* 255 sq. p. 1525) on the manuring of almond-trees seems to have been taken from this, and not from the treatise on plants ROSE (*Ar. Ps.* 268 sq.; *Hs. Fr.* 165 sq.) mentions other things which may perhaps have come from this source. That Aristotle did not write about agriculture or similar subjects is clear from *Polit.* i. 11, 1258, a, 33, 39.

ing,<sup>1</sup> are, without exception, spurious. The *Problems*<sup>2</sup> are no doubt based on Aristotelian materials;<sup>3</sup> but our extant collection under that name can only be described as a set of gradually gathered and unequally developed productions of the Peripatetic school, which must have existed in many other forms parallel to our own.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Index of Ptolemy, No. 23, Hadschi Khalfa gives (Π. τῶν φωλευόντων): *De Animalium Captura, nec non de Locis, quibus deversantur atque delitescunt*, i.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to this treatise see the exhaustive article by Prantl 'Ueb. d. Probl. d. Arist.' among the *Abh. d. Münch. Akad.* vi. 341-377; ROSE, *Arist. Libr. Ord.* 199 sqq.; *Ar. Ps.* 215 sqq.; HEITZ, *Verl. Schr.* 103 sqq., *Fr. Ar.* 194 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle refers in seven places to the Προβλήματα or Προβληματικά (PRANTL, *ibid.* 364 sq.; *Ind. Ar.* 103, b, 17 sqq.), but only one of these quotations suits to a certain extent the extant 'Problems'; and the same is true (PR. *ibid.* 367 sqq.) of the majority of the later references.

<sup>4</sup> PRANTL, *ibid.* has abundantly proved this, and he has also shown (*Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1858, No. 25) that among the 262 further problems which are given by Bussemaker in vol. iv. of the Didot edition of Aristotle, and some of which were at one time erroneously ascribed to Alexander of Aphrodisias (cf. USENER, *Alex. Aphr. Probl.*, Lib. iii., iv., Berl. 1859, p. ix. sqq.), there is probably nothing written by Aristotle. The same is true of those which Rose (*Ar. Ps.* 666 sqq.) takes from a Latin MS.

of the 10th century. The character ascribed in the text to the collection of 'Problems' may also explain the many varying statements as to its title and the number of books it included. In the MSS. they are sometimes called Προβλήματα, sometimes Φυσικά προβλήματα, and sometimes with the addition κατ' εἶδος συναγωγῆς ('arranged in accordance with the matter'). Gellius generally says, *Problemata* (xix. 4), *Prob. physica* (xx. 4, quoting *Probl.* xxx. 10): Προβλήματα ἐγκύκλια; Apul. (*De Magia*, c. 51) has *Problemata*; Athenæus and Apollonius (*eid.* Indices and Prantl, 390 sq.) always Προβλήματα φυσικά; Macrobi. (*Sat.* vii. 12) *Physica questiones*. To collections of problems are also referable the titles: Φυσικῶν λη' κατὰ στοιχείον (D. 120, AN. 110; as to the words κ. στοιχ., the explanation of which in Rose, *Ar. Ps.* 215, is not clear, they are to be understood of the arrangement of the different books in the alphabetical order of their headings); Προβλήματα (68 or 28 B, PT. 65); Ἐπιτεθεαμένον προβλημάτων β' (D. 121, AN. 112); Ἐγκυκλίων β' (D. 122, AN. 113, Προβλήματα ἐγκύκλ. 4 bks., PT. 67); *Physica Problemata, Adscriptiva Probl.* (AMMON. LATIN. p. 58); Ἀτακτα ιβ' (D. 127, [ἀ]διατάκτων ιβ' AN. 119). *Præ-*



Turning to Ethics and Politics, we have on the former subject three comprehensive works,<sup>1</sup> of which,

*missa Quaestionibus* (PT. 66, says the Greek title is 'ἡριθμῶν βρωα-  
γραφαί,' i.e. Προβλημάτων προ-  
γραφῆ, or Προαναγραφῆ); Συμμικ-  
των ζητημάτων οβ' (AN. 66 with  
the additional clause: ὥς φησιν Εὐ-  
κλείδης δ' ἀκουστῆς αὐτοῦ); David  
(*Schol. in Ar.* 24, b, 8) also speaks  
of 70 books Π. συμμικτων ζητημά-  
των, and the *Vita Marc.* p. 2, R of  
Φυσικὰ προβλήματα in 70 books;  
Ἐξηγημένα (or Ἐξηγασμένα) κατὰ  
γένος ιδ' (D. 128, AN. 121). With  
regard to the Προβλήματα μηχανικά,  
ὀπτικὰ, ἰατρικὰ, cf. p. 86, n. 1, and  
95, n. 3. The spurious composi-  
tion Π. προβλημάτων, to which be-  
sides D. 51 (and also AN. 48,  
although the περὶ is here wanting)  
Alex. *Top.* 34, *Schol. in Ar.* 258, a,  
16, also refers, seems to have con-  
tained a theory as to setting and  
answering problems. See ROSE,  
*Ar. Pa.* 126, *Fragm.* 109, p. 1496,  
*Fr. Hz.* 115. On the other hand,  
book xxx. of our Problems cannot  
well be meant (as Heitz, 122, be-  
lieves) by the ἐγκύκλια, *Eth. N.* 1,  
3, 1096, a, 3. Aristotle seems  
rather to indicate what he calls  
in other places ἑωτερικοὶ λόγοι,  
and *De Caelo*, i. 9, 279, a, 30 τὰ  
ἐγκύκλια φιλοσοφήματα. Cf. BEN-  
NAYS, *Dial. of Arist.* 85, 93 sqq.  
171; BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 105, a, 27  
sqq. More on this *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> Ἠθικὰ Νικομάχεια 10 B.,  
Ἠθικὰ Εὐδήμεια 7 B., Ἠθικὰ μεγάλα  
2 B. Of our catalogues D. 38  
only names Ἠθικῶν ε' al. δ'; (al-  
though DIOG. elsewhere (*Vita*,  
21) cites the seventh book of the  
Ethics in connection with *Eth.*  
*Eud.* vii. 12, 1245, b, 20); AN.  
39 has Ἠθικῶν κ (e.g. the *Eth.*  
*Nic.*, the last book of which is κ),

and then again in the Appendix  
174: Π. ἡθῶν (-ικῶν) Νικομαχείων  
ὑποθήκας (which seems to be an  
extract from the same work); PT.  
30 sq. the Great Ethics in two  
books, the Eudemian Ethics in  
eight. Aristotle himself quotes  
(*Metaph.* i. 1, 981, b, 25, and  
in six passages of the *Politics*)  
the ἡθικὰ, meaning doubtless the  
Nicomachean Ethics (cf. BEN-  
DIXEN in *Philologus* x. 203,  
290 sq.; *Ind. Ar.* 103, b, 46  
sqq., and 101, b, 19 sqq.). Cic.  
(*Fin.* v. 5, 12) believes that the  
*Libri de Moribus* of Nicomachus  
are ascribed to Aristotle, inas-  
much as the son would write  
very much like his father. Dio-  
genes also (viii. 88) quotes *Eth.*  
*N.* x. 2 with the words: φησὶ δὲ  
Νικόμαχος δ' Ἀριστοτέλους. On  
the other hand Atticus (*apud* EUS.  
*Pr. Ev.* xv. 4, 6) gives all three  
Ethics with their present names  
as Aristotelian; likewise Simpl.  
*in Cat.* 1, ζ, 43, ε and *Schol.* Por-  
phy. *Schol. in Ar.* 9, b, 22, who  
says the Eudemian Ethics were  
addressed to Eudemus, the Μεγάλα  
Νικομάχεια (*M. Mor.*) to Nico-  
machus the father, and the Μικρὰ  
Νικομάχεια (*Eth. N.*) to Nicoma-  
chus, the son of Aristotle. The  
same story is told by DAVID,  
*Schol. in Ar.* 25, a, 40. EUSTRAT.  
(*in Eth. N.* 141, a; cf. *Arist. Eth.*  
*Eud.* vii. 4 *init.* c. 10, 1242, b, 2)  
speaks of the Eudemian Ethics  
as the work of Eudemus, that is  
to say, he repeats this statement  
after one of the earlier writers  
whom he used (cf. p. 72, b), and  
who was, it would seem, not alto-  
gether unlearned: on the other  
hand, on his own supposition, or

books named to us, which dealt with subjects outside the main lines of the Aristotelian system;<sup>1</sup> and among

logue based on the existing inscriptions of the tragedies performed in Athens—as a part of the book on tragedies.—Further, a series of writings relating to poets is named, which took the form of problems: 'Απορημάτων ποιητικῶν α' (AN. App. 145); Αἰτίαι ποιητικαί (ibid. 146, where αἰτίαι seems to indicate the form of treatment which is proper to the ἀπορήματα or προβλήματα, viz. that the διὰ τί is sought, and the reply consists in giving the διότι or the αἰτία); 'Απορημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν ζ' (D. 118; AN. 106 ζ'; HEITZ, 268 sq., *Fr. Hz.* 129; ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 148 sq., *Ar. Fr.* 137–175, p. 1501 sq.) or, as the *Vita Marc.* p. 2. names it, 'Ὀμ. ζητήματα; Προβλημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν ι' (AN. App. 147; PTOL. 91; AMMON. V. *Ar.* 44; AMM. LAT. 54, probably a duplication of the ἀπορήματα); 'Απορήματα Ἡσιόδου α' (AN. App. 143); 'Απορ. Ἀρχιλόχου, Εὐριπίδους, Χοίριλου γ' (ibid. 144). To these the 'Απορήματα θεία (AN. 107) seem also to belong. The treatise: Εἰ δέ ποτε Ὀμηρος ἐποίησεν τὰς Ἥλιου βούς; (AN. App. 142), is no doubt only one of the Homeric problems.—Of these writings the ones which are more likely to have an Aristotelian origin are the Queries on Homer; but even these may have had later additions made to them. On the other hand the genuineness of the Πέπλος (AN. 105; AN. App. 169; ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 563 sq., *Ar. Fr.* 594–600, p. 1574 sq.; *Fr. Hz.* 309 sq.; cf. BERGK, *Lyr. Gr.* 505 sq.; MÜLLER, *Fragm.*

*Hist.* ii. 188 sqq.) cannot be maintained. More ancient seems to be the book Π. μουσικῆς, which both DIOG. (116, 132) and AN. (104, 124) give us in two places, and which is identical with the musical problems noticed by LABBEUS, *Bibl. nova*, 116 (see BRANDIS, ii. b, 94); but it is no more genuine than the Π. καλοῦ (D. 69, AN. 63, Π. καλούς).

<sup>1</sup> To these belong certain minor, mostly historical works, Ὀλυμπιονίκαι α' (D. 130, AN. 122); Πυθιονικῶν ἐλεγχοί α' (D. 131 and probably also AN. 125); Πυθιονικαί α' (D. 131, AN. 123, with the strange title, Πυθιονίκας βιβλίον ἐν ᾧ Μέναιχμον ἐνίκησεν); Πυθικός α' (D. 133), possibly only a different title for the same writing; Νίκαι Διονυσιακαί α' (D. 135, AN. 126, Νικῶν Διον. ἀστικῶν καὶ ληναίων α'). About these writings cf. ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 545 sq., *Ar. Fr.* 572–574, p. 187; HEITZ, 264 sq., *Fr. Hz.* 300 sq.; MÜLLER, *Hist. Gr.* ii. 182 sq.—Further Π. εὐρημάτων (CLEMENS, *Strom.* i. 308, A, where, however, an Aristotelian work with this title which could not be genuine seems to be designated: notes which may have come from the work are given by MÜLLER, *ibid.* 181 sq.).—Π. θαυμασιωτάκουσμάτων quoted by ATHEN. (xii. 541; cf. *Θαυμ. ἀκ.* c. 96) and, with the title ἐν θαυμασίοις, perhaps also by AN-TIGON. *Mirabil.* c. 25 (cf. *Θαυμ. ἀκουσμ.* c. 30), a 'collection of strange phenomena,' the genuineness of which cannot be admitted. For further information on this

these also there is no doubt that many spurious titles have crept in.

B.—*General Questions touching the Aristotelian Writings.*

ON a general survey of the works which are preserved or known to us as Aristotelian, it is evident that they—apart from the letters and poems—were of two different kinds. The component parts of our *Corpus Aristotelicum* are without exception didactic treatises in scientific form.<sup>1</sup> And almost all of these which can be called genuine are, as will be seen, connected together by express references in a way that is only to be explained by the theory that they were addressed to one circle of readers as the connected and mutually explanatory parts of one whole. It is quite different in the case of the writings which were afterwards styled ‘hypomnematic’—notes, that is to say, made by

work see WESTERMANN, *Παραδοξόγραφοι*, p. xxv. sqq., and especially ROSE, *Ar. Libr. Ord.* 64 sq., *Ar. Pseud.* 279 sq., who refers the main body of the work, consisting of chaps. 1–114, 130–137, 115–129, 138–181, to the middle of the third century. An enlarged treatment of this, or a more extensive specimen of the same sort of work, is perhaps the *Παράδοξα*, from the second book of which Plut. (*Parall. Gr. et Rom.* c. 29, p. 312) quotes something which is not found in our *Θαυμ. ἀκ.*—*Παροιμίας α'* (D. 138; cf. AN. 127), a collection of proverbs, the existence of which seems to be proved, *inter alia*, by ATHEN. ii. 60 d, although Heitz (*l'ér.*

*Schr.* 163 sq.; *Fragm.* 219) is doubtful whether there was an Aristotelian work on this subject. We cannot prove whether the references in Eustath. *in Od.* N 408 and SYNES. *Enc. Calrit.* c. 22 (*Ar. Fr.* No. 454, No. 2) belong to this or to other works. In addition to these there are two titles which are so indefinite that they furnish no safe clue to the contents of the writings to which they correspond: *Παραβολαί* (D. 126); *Ἀτακτα* (to which *προβλήματα* or *ὑπομνήματα* may be supplied) *ιβ'* (D. 127; cf. p. 96, foot).

<sup>1</sup> The ‘wonderful stories’ are perhaps the only exceptions, but they are not Aristotelian.

Aristotle merely for his own use, and therefore not thrown by him into any such literary form and unity as the works designed for publication.<sup>1</sup> None of the extant works which are genuine is of this class,<sup>2</sup> but several of those which are lost seem to have belonged to it.<sup>3</sup> From these two classes of works, however, there is to be distinguished a third. Cicero, Quintilian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus praise Aristotle not only for scientific greatness, but equally for the grace and richness of his exposition—'the golden stream of his speech.'<sup>4</sup> This must have referred to works designed

<sup>1</sup> Simpl. (*in Categ.* Schol. in Ar. 24, a, 42): ὑπομνηματικά ὅσα πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν οἰκεῖαν καὶ πλεονα βάσανον συνέταξεν ὁ φιλόσοφος: these writings cannot, however, be taken as πάντῃ σπουδῆς ἕξια, and hence we may not draw from them any proofs for the Aristotelian doctrine: ὁ μὲντοι Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ ὑπομνηματικά συμπεφυμένα φησὶν εἶναι καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἓνα σκοπὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι, and for this very reason the others are distinguished from them as συνταγματικά. David (*Schol.* 24, a, 38): ὑπομνηματικά μὲν λέγονται ἐν οἷς μόνα τὰ κεφάλαια ἀπεγράφουσιν δίχα προοιμίων καὶ ἐπιλόγων καὶ τῆς πρεπούσης ἐκδόσεως ἀπαγγελίας. Cf. HEITZ, *Verl. Schr.* 24 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The Problems, which might occur as an instance, cannot have been written down for his own use alone, since Aristotle often quotes them (see above, p. 96), thereby implying that they are known to his readers. Other instances, such as the Melissus, etc., cannot be supposed genuine. Even if it be true that particular portions of

our *Corpus* were intended to serve as the basis for lectures, or were compiled from them, they would not on that account be merely 'hypomnemata writings.'

<sup>3</sup> E.g., those mentioned on p. 62, n. 4, 5, and perhaps also the *Politics* (p. 101); whether the *Περὶ τὰγαθοῦ* is also one (as already noted on p. 61, n. 2 *fin.*), seems doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Top.* 1, 3: the works of Aristotle are not only recommended by their contents, *sed dicendi quoque incredibili quadam cum copia tum etiam suavitatem*. *De Invent.* ii. 2, 6 (on the *Συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν*): Aristotle has left the old orators *suavitate et brevitate dicendi* far behind. *De Orat.* i. 11, 49: *si item Aristoteles, si Theophrastus, si Carneades . . . eloquentes et in dicendo suaves atque ornati fuere*. *De Fin.* i. 5, 14 (on Epicurus): *quod ista Platonis Aristotelis Theophrasti orationis ornamenta neglexerit*. *Acad.* ii. 38, 119: *veniet flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles*. QUINTIL. *Inst.* xi. 83: *quid Aristotelem? Quem dubito*

by him for publication. It is not applicable to any of those which are now extant; and of these, indeed, the two Latin writers probably knew but a small part.<sup>1</sup> We are driven to suppose, therefore, that it was to other works, lost to us, that they ascribed this kind of excellence. The critic who judges of literary form by purely scientific criteria will find, it is true, much to praise in our extant Aristotle. He will acknowledge the apt discrimination of all his ideas, the inimitable precision and compactness of his diction, and his masterly handling of an established terminology. But of the qualities which Cicero emphasises, or any graceful movement of a rich and rolling eloquence, he will find even in the most popular of the extant books but little trace; while in other parts the dry methods of treatment, the rough brevity of statement, the involved construction of long sentences, often broken by anacolutha and parentheses, stand in plain contradiction to Cicero's description. We can, however, gather for ourselves, even from the scanty fragments of the lost books, that some of these were written in a style far more rich and

*scientia rerum an scriptorum copia an eloquendi suavitatis . . . clariorem putem.* DIONYS. *De Verb. Cop.* 24: of the philosophers, Democritus, Plato, and Aristotle are the best as to style. *De Cens. Vet. Script.* 4: παραληπτέον δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη εἰς μίμησιν τῆς τε περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν δεινότητος καὶ τῆς σαφηνείας καὶ τοῦ ἡδέος καὶ πολυμαθοῦς.

<sup>1</sup> Except the *Topics* and *Rhetoric*, we have no reason for supposing that any of them knew by personal reading the extant

books. Of the others, however, Cicero used several of the writings mentioned on p. 55 sqq., the books on Philosophy, the *Eudemus*, the *Protrepticus*, perhaps also the *Πολιτικός*, *Π. βασιλείας* and *Π. πλούτου*; cf. *Fin.* ii. 13, 40; *Acad.* ii. 38, 119; *N. D.* ii. 15, 42, 16, 44, 37, 95, 49, 125; *Divin.* i. 25, 53; *Fragm. Hort.* apud Augustine c. *Jul.* iv. 78; *Fin.* v. 4, 11; *Ad Quint. Fr.* iii. 5; *Ad Att.* xii. 40, 2, xiii. 28, 2; *Off.* ii. 16, 56: and above, p. 60, n. 1.

ornate, and approached far more closely to the literary graces of the Platonic Dialogues, than any of the scientific treatises now contained in our *Corpus*.<sup>1</sup> This difference is to be explained, not merely by the earlier date of the writings in question, but also by the fact that they were not intended to serve the same purpose as the others, nor designed for the same audiences.<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle himself occasionally refers to certain statements of his doctrine, published by him, or then in common use, in terms which seem to imply that a portion of his writings (including these writings in which the references in question occur) were not in the same sense given to the public.<sup>3</sup> And from his

<sup>1</sup> On this point see what is preserved in Nos. 12-14, 17 sq., 32, 36, 40, 48, 49, 71, 72 of the Fragments (Academy edition) from the *Eudemus*, *Protrepticus*, Π. φιλοσοφίας, Π. δικαιοσύνης, and above, p. 56, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> We shall discuss this immediately.

<sup>3</sup> *Poet.* 15, 1454, b, 17: εἴρηται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐκδομένοις λόγοις ἱκανῶς. *De An.* i. 4 *init.*: καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τις δόξα παραδέδοται περὶ ψυχῆς, πιθανὴ μὲν πολλοῖς . . . λόγους ὥσπερ δ' εὐθύνας (for which Bernays, *Dial. d. Ar.* 15 sqq, erasing λόγους, reads: ὥσπερ εὐθύνας δὲ) δεδοκῖα καὶ τοῖς ἐν κοινῷ γιγνομένοις λόγοις ἁρμονίαν γάρ τινα αὐτὴν λέγουσι, &c. In the first of these places, Bernays says (*ibid.* 13) that 'published' here means the same as 'already published' (the same explanation of the words is given by ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 79), yet one

may well doubt whether this gloss is allowable. The predicate ἐκδομένοι would certainly not be there without a purpose, but is meant to distinguish the λόγοι ἐκδομένοι from certain other λόγοι. Neither can we translate ἐκδομένοι in such a way as to make 'the writings published by me' a mere periphrasis for 'my writings'; partly because such a turn of phrase is not found in Aristotle. When he refers, without indicating a particular work, to something that has gone before, he is accustomed to say merely, ἐν ἄλλοις, ἐν ἑτέροις or πρότερον. Again the fact that he does not say ὅτι ἐμοὶ ἐκδομένοι shows that the emphasis falls on ἐκδομένοι, as such, and that the λόγοι ἐκδομένοι are meant as an antithesis to μὴ ἐκδομένοι. Only we have no right to assume that things μὴ ἐκδομένοι mean things published later. The anti-

commentators we further learn that one of the points

thesis to 'published' is not 'later published,' but 'not published;' and from the perfect *ἐκτεθεσμένοι* to read 'such as had already been published at the time of the writing of the *Poetics*, and so were earlier than that work,' is shown to be impossible by the reflection of UEBERWEG on this passage (*Arist. üb. d. Dichtk.*, p. 75) that every author puts himself, in regard to the reader, in the time at which his work will be in the reader's hands. Hence, if the *Poetics* were to be laid before the whole reading world, i.e. published, just like the *λόγοι* to which they referred, they would not be designated in contradistinction to the latter, by the predicate *ἐκτεθεσμένοι*, since each of them would be, in relation to their reader, equally a *λόγος ἐκτεθεσμένος*. Rose wished to refer the *λόγοι ἐκτεθ.*, first to former passages in the *Poetics* (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 130), and later (*Ar. Pseud.* 79) to the *Rhetoric*, but he was subsequently (*Ar. Ps.* 714) right in withdrawing both, since the discussion for which the *Poetics* refer to the *λόγοι ἐκτεθ.* is found neither in the *Rhetoric* nor in the *Poetics* (cf. BERNAYS, *ibid.* 138): and, even apart from this, the latter could never have been so indicated. Nor can we on the other hand (as ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 717, maintains) refer the expression to writings on Poetry by the Platonic school, for we clearly must confine it to Aristotelian writings: and in the second passage, *De An.* i. 4, the *λόγοι ἐν κοινῷ γιγνόμενοι* cannot be understood (as TORSTRIK, *Arist. de An.* 123 supposes, he being perhaps preceded by the

authors of the variant *λεγομένοις* instead of *γιγνομ.*) of conversations, such as would occur in educated circles, or (as ROSE, *Ar. Ps.* 717, thinks) of expressions of opinion coming from the Platonic school; for the *εὐθύνas δεδωκυία* refers to some criticism, known to the reader, of the supposition that the soul is the harmony of its body, and cannot mean vague conversations of third persons (cf. also BERNAYS, *ibid.*, 18 sq.). Neither can one refer them to oral statements made by Aristotle to his pupils (PHILOP.: see following note), partly because Aristotle never elsewhere refers to such statements, and in a treatise which, though perhaps primarily intended as a textbook for his school, yet gives no indication anywhere of being meant only for his personal pupils, he could not well appeal to them; partly because the Philosopher had really inserted the criticism referred to in one of his own writings (cf. following note). The latter fact indicates that it is wrong (as SIMPL. does; see following note) to refer the *λόγοι ἐν κοινῷ γιγν.* to the Platonic *Phaedo*, for which this expression would not be a sufficient indication, nor would it correspond (cf. BERNAYS, p. 20) with the manner in which it is in other places mentioned (cf. *Meteorol.* ii. 2, 355, b, 32). Finally, though Ueberweg (*Gesch. d. Phil.* i. 173, 5th ed.) understands by the *λόγοι ἐν κ. γιγν.* (extending the explanation of Philoponus) discussions which occurred in actual conversations, or in writings arranged in the

to which he so refers was to be found in the *Eudemus*.<sup>1</sup> We find other and more frequent references of his to the 'Exoteric Discourses' as the place where he had dealt with such and such a subject.<sup>2</sup> Opinions, however, differ as to the meaning of that name and the

form of dialogues, it seems clear that the latter could not be so named, and that there was here no reason for mentioning the dialogue form of such discussions. From the point of view of grammar, owing to the present tense of *γιννόμενους* (to which BONITZ, *Ind. Arist.* 105, a, 46, rightly calls attention), they cannot be explained as: 'the speeches submitted (i.e. which have been submitted) to publication,' for in that case it would have been *γενομένοις*. It can only mean, as Bernays translates it in his *Dial. d. Arist.* 29, 'the discourses existing in a state of publication, available for the use of all,' taking the *ἐν κοινῷ* here in the same sense as in the expressions: *ἐν κοινῷ κατατίθεσθαι*, *ἐν κοινῷ ἀφιέναι* (*in medio relinquere*, *Metaph.* i. 6, 987, b, 14). A similar meaning to that of the *λόγοι ἐν κοινῷ γιννόμενοι* seems to be attached to *ἐγκύκλια* or *ἐγκύκλια φιλοσοφήματα*, of which mention is made in *Eth.* i. 3, 1096, a, 2 (*καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἅλις ἱκανῶς γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις εἰρηται περὶ αὐτῶν*) and *De Cælo*, i. 9, 279, a, 30 (*καὶ γὰρ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις φιλοσοφήμασι περὶ τὰ θεῖα πολλὰκις προφαίνεται τοῖς λόγοις ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἀμετάβλητον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι*, &c.). *Ἐγκύκλιος* can, just as well as *ἐν κοινῷ γιννόμενος*, mean *in medio positus* — Bernays' rendering, *Dial. d.*

*Ar.* 124, 'writings in the common strain,' is not so appropriate. The phrase is so explained by Simplicius (in *De Cælo*, Schol. 487, a, 3: where he says that Aristotle uses *ἐγκύκλ. φιλ.* to signify τὰ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς προτιθέμενα, i.e. the *ἐξωτερικά*). We also see from *Ar. Fr.* 77, 1488, b, 36 sqq., and *Fr.* 15, 1476, b, 21, that the matter for which Aristotle refers to the *ἐγκύκλια*, was actually treated in two of his Dialogues. Cf. BERNAYS, *ibid.* 84 sqq., 93 sq., 110 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> It is shown by the passages quoted in Rose, *Ar. Fr.* 41, p. 1481 sq., and Heitz, *Ar. Fr.* 73, p. 51, from Philoponus, Simplicius, Themistius, and Olympiodorus (the common source for whom may have been Alexander), that Arist. in the *Eudemus*, after following the *Phædo*, devoted a searching examination to the theory that the soul is the harmony of its body, the principal heads of which examination are given by them. Hence the passages in question must refer to this dialogue, although Philoponus (*De An.* E, 2) leaves us the choice between it and the *ἔγραφοι συνουσταὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους*, and Simplicius (*De An.* 14, a) connects it with the *Phædo*.

<sup>2</sup> All the passages are quoted below.



relation of these 'Exoteric Discourses' to our extant *Corpus*. The ancients who mentioned them always referred to them as a separate class of Aristotle's works, distinguished from the technical scientific treatises by a less strict method of treatment.<sup>1</sup> But they differ among themselves as to details. Cicero<sup>2</sup> and Strabo<sup>3</sup> speak of the exoteric works in general terms as popular statements.<sup>4</sup> The former, however, is unmistakably thinking only of the Dialogues,<sup>5</sup> which we also find described as 'exoteric' in Plutarch.<sup>6</sup> According to Gellius, the treatises which dealt with

<sup>1</sup> The only exceptions are two late Byzantine and altogether untrustworthy interpreters of the *Ethics*, Eustratius (90, a) and the Pseudo-Andronicus (Heliodorus, *circa* 1367, cf. p. 69, n. 1), the former of whom understands by *ἐξωτερικοί λόγοι* the common opinion, the latter, oral instruction.

<sup>2</sup> *Fin.* v. 5, 12: about the highest good, Aristotle and Theophrastus have written *duo genera librorum, unum populariter scriptum, quod ἐξωτερικὸν ἀπελάβαν, alterum limatius* [ἀκριβεστερῶς, in a more severe style], *quod in commentariis reliquerunt*, but in essentials they both agree.

<sup>3</sup> XIII. 1, 54, p. 609: because the Peripatetics, after Theophrastus, had not his works and those of Aristotle, *πλὴν ὁλίγων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν*, they happened *μηδὲν ἔχειν φιλοσοφεῖν πραγματικῶς* [going deeply into the subject, scientific] *ἀλλὰ θέσεις ληκνύειν*.

<sup>4</sup> Likewise SIMPL. *Phys.* 2, b:

the Aristotelian writings are divided into acroasmatic and exoteric, *οἷα τὰ ἱστορικὰ καὶ τὰ διαλογικὰ καὶ ὅλως τὰ μὴ ἄκρας ἀκριβείας φροντίζοντα*. — PHILOP. *De An.* E, 2 (*ap.* STAHR, *Arist.* ii. 261): *τὰ ἐξωτερικὰ συγγράμματα, ὧν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ διάλογοι . . . ἅπερ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξωτερικὰ κέκληται ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τοὺς γνησίους ἀκροατὰς γεγραμμένα*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Ad Att.* iv. 16, 2: *quoniam in singulis libris* [of the discourse on the State] *utor proœmiis, ut Aristoteles in iis quæ ἐξωτερικοὺς vocat*. In contradistinction to the Dialogues, the strictly scientific works are called (see preceding note) *commentarii*, continuous expositions, corresponding to the *αὐτοπρόσωπα* or *ἀκροατικά* of the Greek interpreters (see p. 112, n. 1, and 113, n. 2).

<sup>6</sup> *Adv. Col.* 14, 4, p. 1115: Aristotle everywhere attacks the Ideas: *ἐν τοῖς ἡθικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν* (synonymous with Cicero's *commentarii*; see preceding note), *ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς, διὰ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν διαλόγων*.

Rhetoric, Topics, and Politics were named 'exoteric,' and those which related to Metaphysics, Physics, and Dialectics 'acroatic,'<sup>1</sup> the reason being that the former, as Galen explained, were meant for everyone; the latter only for the philosopher's scholars.<sup>2</sup> Alexander, in a letter which appears in Andronicus,<sup>3</sup> is supposed to complain to his master of the publication of the 'acroatic' writings; but inasmuch as Aristotle is expressly stated to have published them, the notion that *he* objected to their publication cannot have been in the mind of the writer of that fragment. At a later time we do find this assumption also,<sup>4</sup> and we find connected with it the further theory that Aristotle purposely adopted in his 'acroatic'

<sup>1</sup> *N. A.* xx. 5: Aristotle's lectures and writings were divided into two classes, the *ἐξωτερικά* and the *ἀκροατικά*. *Ἐξωτερικὰ δὲ λέγονται τὰ ῥητορικὰ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά. Ἀκροατικὰ δὲ λέγονται τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά. Ἐξωτερικὰ δὲ λέγονται τὰ ῥητορικὰ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά. Ἀκροατικὰ δὲ λέγονται τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά.* *Libros quoque suos, earum omnium rerum commentarios, seorsum divisit, ut alii exoterici dicerentur, partim acroatici.*

<sup>2</sup> *De Subst. Fac. Nat.* vol. iv. 758 K: *Ἀριστοτέλους ἡ Θεοφράστου τὰ μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς γεγραφέντων, τὰς δὲ ἀκροάσεις τοῖς ἑταίροις.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. GELL. *ibid.*; PLUT. *Alex.* 7; *vide supra*, p. 22, n. 1. The wording: *οὐκ ὁρθῶς ἐποίησας ἐκδοὺς τοὺς ἀκροατικοὺς τῶν λόγων,*

shows that the distinction between the *λόγοι ἀκροατικοὶ* and *ἐξωτερικοὶ* must have been known to the author of the letter.

<sup>4</sup> Thus PLUT. *Alex.* c. 7: *ἔοικε δ' Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ μόνον τὸν ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν παραλαβεῖν λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ βαρυτέρων [βαθυτέρων] διδασκαλιῶν, ἃς οἱ ἄνδρες ἰδίως ἀκροαματικὰς καὶ ἐποπτικὰς [as in mysteries] προσ-αγορεύοντες οὐκ ἐξέφερον εἰς πολλοὺς μετασχεῖν.* CLEMENS, *Strom.* v. 575, A: not only the Pythagoreans and the Platonists, but all schools have secret doctrines and secret writings: *λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ μὲν ἐξωτερικὰ εἶναι τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτῶν [-οῦ] τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τε καὶ ἐξωτερικά.* On the same theory, in the *Rhet.* ad *Alex.* c. 1, 1421, a, 26 sq., Aristotle is requested by Alexander to observe the strictest secrecy with regard to this work, while Aristotle, on his part, lays a reciprocal duty of silence on Alexander.

works a form of exposition which must make them unintelligible to any but his scholars;<sup>1</sup> while at the same time it is said that it was here only that he disclosed his views in their full logical connection.<sup>2</sup> On this theory the 'exoteric' writings were broadly distinguished from the 'acroatic,' just by the fact that they were intended for a wider public, and that they were therefore put in a more popular form, did not cover the more difficult classes of inquiry, and substituted for a severe and scientific method of proof one more accommodated to general comprehension.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This idea is expressed in the answer of Aristotle to Alexander (see GELL. *ibid.*), when he replies to the reproach of the latter with regard to the ἀκροατικοὶ λόγοι: ἴσθι οὐκ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκδεδομένους καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένους· ξυνητοὶ γὰρ εἰσι μόνους τοῖς ἡμῶν ἀκούσασιν. See also THEMIST. *Or.* xxvi. 319, A sq., where it is said that Aristotle did not find the same discourses suitable for the masses as for the philosophers, and therefore withdrew the highest secrets of his teaching (the τέλεια ἱερά, the μυστικὸν) from the former by using obscure language. SIMPL. *Phys.* 2, b, referring to the letters just mentioned, says: ἐν τοῖς ἀκροαματικοῖς ἀσάφειαν ἐπετήδευσε, &c. For the same view see *Categ.* Schol. 27, a, 38, DAVID, *Categ.* Schol. 22, a, 20; 27, a, 18 sq. In the same sense LUCIAN, *V. Auct.* c. 26, calls Aristotle διπλοῦς, ἄλλος μὲν ὁ ἔκτοσθεν φαινόμενος ἄλλος δὲ ὁ ἔντοσθεν, exoteric and esoteric.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander remarks, *Top.* 52, that Aristotle speaks at one time λογικῶς in order to unfold the truth as such, at another διαλεκ-

τικῶς πρὸς δόξαν. He instances the *Topics*, the *ῥητορικά* and the *ἑξωτερικά*. 'καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις πλείστα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡθικῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν ἐνδόξως λέγεται.' But the example of the *Topics* and the *Rhetoric* shows that this only refers to the basis of the opinions laid down in these writings, the argument from the universally acknowledged (the *ἐνδοξον*), and not to the teaching as such. The later writers, as a rule, express themselves in the same sense; thus SIMPL. *Phys.* 164, a: ἑξωτερικά δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ δι' ἐνδόξων περαινόμενα ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδεικτικά μὴδὲ ἀκροαματικά. As to AMMON. and DAVID, see following note; and cf. PHILOP. *Phys.* p. 4. On the other hand DAVID, *Schol. in Ar.* 24, b, 33, changes the statement of Alexander (which he quotes in order to refute it) into: ὅτι ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀκροαματικοῖς τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ λέγει καὶ τὰ ἀληθῆ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς διαλογικοῖς τὰ ἄλλοις δοκοῦντα, τὰ ψευδῆ.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the testimony already adduced, the statements found in the Neoplatonic com-

The theory just mentioned can be traced as far back as Andronicus, perhaps even farther;<sup>1</sup> but this does not put its correctness beyond question. It is, however, confirmed in the main, even if it requires correction in one point or another, by the utterances of Aristotle himself as to the 'Exoteric Discourses.' It is true that in a general sense he may describe as 'exoteric' any topic which does not belong to the inquiry immediately

mentators go to establish this point. Thus the so-called Ammon. in *Categ.* 6, b sqq. (see also STAHR, *Aristotelia*, ii. 255 sqq.), who, after some other divisions of the the Aristotelian writings, among 'syntagmatic' ones distinguishes *αὐτοπρόσωπα* καὶ ἀκροαματικά and *διαλογικά* καὶ ἐξωτερικά. The former are written *πρὸς γνησίους ἀκροατάς*, the latter *πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ὀφέλειαν*; in the former Aristotle expresses his own opinion with a strictly scientific argument, in the latter τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀποδεικτικῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων, καὶ οἷς οἱοί τε εἰσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν. Similarly, only at greater length, DAVID, *Schol.* 24, a, 20 sqq., who likewise divides the *συνταγματικά* into *αὐτοπρόσωπα* or *ἀκροαματικά* and *διαλογικά* & καὶ ἐξωτερικά λέγονται and considers the former to have been written *πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδέους τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ*, the latter *πρὸς ἀνεπιτηδέους πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν*, and hence the former δι' ἀναγκαστικῶν λόγων, the latter διὰ πῆθανών. Cf. p. 111, n. 4.

<sup>1</sup> In proof of this statement we cannot attach so much importance to the passage just given from David as Heitz does (*Verh. Schr.* 25 sq.). The fact

that David (24, b, 5) expressly appeals to Ammonius (Π. ἐμμηvelas) and to the commentary on the *Categories* passing under Ammonius' name (which, although in its present form it does not come from Ammonius, yet seems to have originated in one written by him), indicates that Ammonius was David's proximate authority; and though he (Ammonius) certainly made use of earlier writers (and principally Alexander, whom David at 24, b, 33 attacks, and from whom his quotation of the Aristotelian *Eudemus* is probably taken, like that in PHILOP. *De An.* E, 2 sq.; *Ar. Fr.* p. 1481, No. 41), still we do not know how much has been added to their testimony. On the other hand we must trace the statements in Cicero, Strabo, and Gellius (*vide supra*, p. 111, n. 2-6, 112, n. 1), to Tyrannio and Andronicus, and the letters mentioned on p. 112, n. 3 etc., prove that the latter was aware of the distinction between exoteric and acroatic writings, and of the suggestion that the last mentioned were only intended to be understood by the pupils of the philosopher.

in hand,<sup>1</sup> or any discussion which does not go very deeply into the subject.<sup>2</sup> It is also true that the title does not always and necessarily denote a distinct class of writings.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless there are passages where we have every reason to refer it to such a class;<sup>4</sup> and that

<sup>1</sup> *Polit.* i. 5, 1254, a, 33; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἐξωτερικώτερας ἐστὶ σκέψεως. Similarly, *ibid.* ii. 6, 1264, b, 39; 'in the *Republic* Plato has only imperfectly treated of legislation, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοῖς ἐξωθεν λόγοις πεπλήρωκε τὸν λόγον.' The term 'ἐξωθεν λόγοι' covers in this case writings of the most speculative character. In like manner Eudemus *Fr.* 6 (SIMPL. *Phys.* 18, b), where instead of the ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν . . . ἴσως δὲ οὐ πρὸς τὸν λόγον of Aristotle (*Phys.* i. 2, 185, b, 11) we read: ἔχει δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπορίαν ἐξωτερικὴν.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* iv. 10, *init.*: πρῶτον δὲ καλῶς ἔχει διαπορῆσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ [τοῦ χρόνου] καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν λόγων. The ἐξωτ. λόγοι here mean the discussion which follows immediately, and which is called exoteric (in the same way as Aristotle, in other places, puts the logical in opposition to the physical, *vid. infra*, p. 174, n. 2), because it does not aim at a strict and adequate notion of time (the τί ἐστὶν ὁ χρόνος, 218, a, 31), but only takes into consideration certain preliminary properties of it. The question is not here of exoteric writings; but Prantl is none the less wrong (*Arist. Physik*, 501, 32) in maintaining that by the exoteric discourses we are to understand, not only in the present instance, but everywhere, only those conversations on interesting subjects which

at that time were everywhere in vogue even at social gatherings. That this does not fit other passages will be shown immediately; as for the passage in question, such a rendering is forbidden by the strictly dialectical and genuinely Aristotelian style of the discussions from p. 217, b, 32 to p. 218, a, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, besides the passage given in the preceding note from the *Physics*, the Eudemian *Eth.* ii. 1, 1218, b, 33, introduces the division of possessions into the external and the spiritual with the remark: καθάπερ διαιρούμεθα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις. In the parallel passage, *Eth.* N. i. 8, 1098, b, 10, Aristotle says: he wishes to speak about happiness καὶ ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτῆς, by which, according to the context, only the prevailing views concerning happiness can be meant. It is to these, therefore, that the ἐξωτ. λόγοι of Eudemus must also refer.

<sup>4</sup> This is true especially of *Polit.* vii. i. 1323, a, 21: νομισαντας οὖν ἰκανῶς πολλὰ λέγεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης (ωῆς καὶ νῦν χρῆστέον αὐτοῖς. That by this he does not mean mere oral expressions of opinion in the conversations of daily life is clearly shown by what immediately follows. For Aristotle continues: ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ πρὸς γε μίαν διαίρεσιν

the writings referred to were of a more popular type than our extant Aristotelian texts is made probable

οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητήσειεν, etc. His point may be stated thus: 'from the arguments in the *ἐξωτερικοί λόγοι*, it will be universally recognised that the conditions of happiness include not only external and bodily good things but also and pre-eminently spiritual good things: although it is true that in common life we are wont to content ourselves with far too small a proportion of such spiritual good.' This line of reasoning necessarily implies that the *ἐξωτερικοί λόγοι* in question, with which the current opinion of society is said to be in partial agreement, are not the same as any form of expression of that current opinion (cf. BERNAYS, *Dial. d. Arist.* 40). Then, again, the words: *πρὸς γε μίαν διαίρεσιν οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητήσειεν* point to definite explanations, set down in writing, not merely existing in the intangible medium of oral conversation. It would be easier to connect them with oral discourses of Aristotle himself (as ONCKEN does in *Staatsl. d. Arist.* i. 44-59). We cannot, however, base this view on the present *λέγομεν* (together with the *διορίζομεθα*, *Pol.* iii. 6, 1278, b, 32), since Aristotle not only quotes the writings of others very frequently in this way, but not unfrequently even his own; cf. *Pol.* vii. 13, 1332, a, 8: *φαμέν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἥθικοις*; *Phys.* viii. 1, 251, a, 9; *φαμέν δὲ*, etc. (*Phys.* iii. 1); *De Caelo*, i. 7, 275, b, 21; *λόγος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ κινήσεως (ἐστίν)*; *Metaph.* v. 30 *fin.*; *λόγος δὲ τούτου ἐν ἐτέροις*; *Eth.* vi. 3, 1139, b, 26; *ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς*

*ἀναλυτικοῖς λέγομεν*; *ibid.* 32: *ὅσα ἄλλα προσδιορίζομεθα ἐν τοῖς ἀναλυτικοῖς*. And, on the other hand, the *νῦν χρηστέον αὐτοῖς* is adverse to this explanation. That is meant to designate what follows as something extracted from the exoteric discourses; but Aristotle would be far more likely to use such a formula if he was quoting something from a former work than if he was merely repeating in writing what he had already orally delivered. This latter, from the nature of the case, he must have had occasion to do as often as a modern university teacher does it. The fact, then, that he expressly mentions that he is 'making an extract from the *ἐξωτερικοί λόγοι*,' points, as in the *De Caelo*, ii. 13, 295, a, 2, and *Meteor.* iii. 2, 372, b, 10 (where some of the writings which we possess are quoted with the same *χρηστέον*) to an existing written work. And an *Aristotelian* writing must be meant, since that which follows out of the *ἐξωτερικοί λόγοι* sounds perfectly Aristotelian, and forms a whole with what Aristotle gives in his own name (*ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐροῦμεν*, l. 38). Lastly, although something similar to that which is here quoted from the *ἐξωτ. λόγοι* is found in some passages of the *Ethics* (i. 6 sqq. x. 6 sqq.), which Zeller, in his second edition, brought into connection with this quotation, yet he now concedes to Bernays (*ibid.* 71 sq.; cf. ONCKEN, *ibid.* 43, 5; VAHLEN, *Arist. Aufs.* ii. 6) that Aristotle would not by the designation

both by the express distinction that is drawn between

ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι have mentioned the *Ethics*, which in the *Politics* he repeatedly quotes as ἠθικά, and puts in the closest connection with them (*vid.* p. 127, n. 2, cf. Zeller's 2nd ed.). Bernays' theory (73 sqq.), that the first chapter of the seventh book of the *Politics* strikingly diverges from the usual style of his scientific works, and bears distinct traces of having been extracted from a dialogue can scarcely be supposed after Vahlen's forcible objections (*Arist. Aufs.* ii.) to be established; Zeller, however, feels bound to agree with Bernays that by the 'exoteric discourses' in this passage is meant a written work of the philosopher's which is lost to us, and which Aristotle here seems to follow pretty closely, for which very reason he refers to it, and not to the *Ethics*, though the parallel passages in the latter were closely connected with it in meaning. — Less convincing with regard to this, in spite of what Bernays says to the contrary (*ibid.* 38, 51 sqq.), appears to be *Polit.* iii. 6, 1278, b, 30: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς λεγομένους τρόπους [the δεσποτεία, the οἰκονομική, and the πολιτική ἀρχή] ῥᾶδιον διελεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις διορίζμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν πολλάκις. These words, looked at in themselves, might refer not only (as ONCKEN, *ibid.*, suggests) to oral disquisitions, but also (by taking the διορίζμεθα as the collective 'we') to conversations not connected with the School or even with scientific philosophy. That Aristotle here 'refers to the ἐξωτ. λόγοι, not for the existence' (more correctly

'distinction') 'of different kinds of dominion, but for the exact limitation of their difference' (as Bernays, p. 38 asserts), cannot be inferred from the διορίζμεθα, since this expression designates not only the exact distinction, the 'carefully-weighed logical antithesis,' but any kind of distinction whatever. If we compare with it the perfectly analogous use of λέγομεν, διορίζμεθα, &c., in the passages given above (p. 115), we shall be prepared to give the same meaning to the διορίζμεθα here, and when we have persuaded ourselves, from other passages, that Aristotle names certain writings λόγοι ἐξωτερικοὶ, the passage appears to fit this interpretation. (And there are certainly some among the lost Aristotelian writings in which the distinction here touched upon may have been given; particularly the πολιτικὸς and Π. βασιλείας: *v. supra*, p. 58, n. 1, and 60, n. 1). — The like is true of *Eth.* vi. 4 *init.*: ἕτερον δ' ἐστὶ πόλεις καὶ πᾶσις· πιστεύομεν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις. The connection here unquestionably allows us to suppose that the words refer to discussions in Aristotelian writings of a character different from that of the scientific works which we possess, as for instance the Dialogue on the Poets or *Gryllos*; but that it forbids any other supposition Bernays (p. 39, 57 sqq.) has not made out. If anybody wished to give to the passage, instead of the narrow meaning assumed by Bernays, the broader one, 'this has already been proved in my other writings,' neither the

meaning of *ἐξωτερικὸς* nor the context would stand in his way, since the rendering of the former would be analogous to the examples quoted on p. 115, n. 1, and as regards the latter the question whether Aristotle here refers to scientific or popular writings, is indifferent. If, on the other hand, we wished to understand the *ἐξωτ.* *λόγοι* of the *λεγόμενα*—‘what is said by others’—we could parallel the expression by an appeal to Eudemus (see preceding note). Bernays, referring to this, finds it impossible to believe that we are to draw the explanation of such a corner-stone of the Peripatetic system as the connection of *πολῆσις* and *πράξις*, from the common conversation of well educated persons: but if so, he ought to find it no less absurd to draw from the very same source an explanation of the centre of gravity of all Ethics, the notion of *Εὐδαιμονία*. And yet we find in *Eth.* i. 8, *init.* uncontestedly: *σκεπτέον δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς . . . καὶ ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτῆς*. This may not mean that we are to seek the scientific definition of happiness ‘in the conversation of the educated;’ but neither would this be affirmed in *Eth.* vi. 4 *init.* about that of *ποίησις* and *πράξις*, if we were to understand the *ἐξωτ.* *λόγοι* in this passage of the *λεγόμενα*. The appeal to universal conviction would be to establish a general distinction of *ποίησις* from *πράξις*; and this is Aristotle’s way: *τῷ γὰρ ἀληθεὶ πάντα συνάδει τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* (*Eth.* i. 8).—Much more definitely may we discern in *Eth.* i. 13, 1102, a, 26 an intention of appealing to some Aristotelian writings in the

words: *λέγεται δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς* [sc. *τῆς ψυχῆς*] *καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις ἀρκούντως ἕνια καὶ χρηστέον αὐτοῖς. οἷον τὸ μὲν ἄλογον αὐτῆς εἶναι τὸ δὲ λόγον ἔχον*. For though it is by no means so incredible as Bernays, p. 36, believes, that the distinction between the rational and the irrational in the soul may have made its way from the Platonic school into wider circles (Epicharmus, at a much later period, comes very near to it with his *νοῦς ὁρᾷ*, &c.), and though it could scarcely be said to be an actual impossibility to interpret the words *ἐξωτ.* *λόγοι* as referring to opinions current outside the school, yet the introductory words here too much resemble those given above from *Polit.* vii. 1, and the *λέγεται ἀρκούντως ἕνια καὶ νῦν χρηστέον αὐτοῖς* here points too obviously to written discussions, for us to be able to refer this quotation to mere *λεγόμενα*. If it refers to an Aristotelian work, this must be one of the lost writings—most probably the *Eudemus*; for the quotation does not agree with *Π. ψυχῆς* iii. 9, 432, a, 22 sqq., and this work would not be cited by such a reference, but, as always in other places, by ‘*ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς*.’—Neither in *Metaph.* xiii. 1, 1076, a, 28 (on the Ideas as such he will only speak *ἁπλῶς καὶ ὅσον νόμον χάριν*—*τεθρόλληται γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὅτὸ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν λόγων*) can we understand by the *ἐξωτ.* *λόγοι* oral discussions of others. It must mean the work of Aristotle himself, since this alone could dispense him from a fuller criticism of the doctrine of Ideas; and that we are to look for such work neither in the philo-



the exoteric and the scientific treatises,<sup>1</sup> and by the terms that are used in describing the former.<sup>2</sup> It is not to be

sopher's doctrinal discussions nor in his strictly scientific writings is suggested not only by the designation *ἐξωτ. λόγοι*, but also by the *καί* (*καί ὑπὸ τ. ἐξ. λ.*), by which the *ἐξωτ. λόγοι* are distinguished from other not exoteric *λόγοι*. Still more clearly does this appear from Eudemus, when the latter, probably remembering this passage, in *Eth.* i. 8, 1217, b, 22 says likewise of the Ideas: *ἐπέσκειται δὲ πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ τρόποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν*. Cf. following note.

<sup>1</sup> This is indicated by the express statement in the passages quoted in the preceding note, especially from *Polit.* vii. 1, *Eth.* i. 13, *Metaph.* xiii. 1, that certain points have been sufficiently explained 'even in the exoteric discourses': that is, inasmuch as we should less expect such discussions in them. Eudemus puts it more definitely, by putting the *ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι* (see preceding note, *fn.*) in opposition to the *λόγοι κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν*. Since the latter are scientific inquiries, the former can only be popular discourses; and, since (as we have seen) writings are meant by them, they can only be popular writings. Now it might indeed appear that the criticism of the doctrine of Ideas, to which *Eth.* *Eud.* i. 8, and *Metaph.* xiii. 1, *loc. cit.* refer, would of all things have been least suited for popular writings; but we have already seen on p. 76, n. 3, 56, n. 2 *med.* that he opposed this doctrine, with the greatest re-

solution, in the Dialogue on Philosophy.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἐξωτερικὸς* in Aristotle means (1) that which *exists* outside, the external; and (2) that which *goes* out, refers to the external. The word has the former meaning when for instance a foreign province is called an *ἐξωτερικὴ ἀρχή* (*Polit.* ii. 10, 1272, b, 19), or when hand and foot are styled *ἐξωτερικὰ μέρη* (*Gen. An.* v. 6, 786, a, 26); to these uses cf. the *ἐξωτερικὰ ἀγαθὰ*, *Pol.* vii. 1, 1323, a, 25. In the second meaning the expression is used in the combination: *ἐξωτερικαὶ πράξεις* (*Pol.* vii. 3, 1325, b, 22, 29). If now, in the phrase *ἐξωτ. λόγοι*, we propose to give it the *first* meaning, we cannot, by exoteric discourses, in those passages where Aristotelian writings of a particular class or the inquiries contained in them are meant, understand such discourses as lie outside the discussion in which they are referred to as 'other discourses' (like the *ἐξωτερικωτέρα σκέψις* and the *ἐξωθεν λόγοι*, p. 115, n. 1 and 3); nor yet (as Bernays thinks in *Dial. d. Ar.* 92 sq.) such as do not enter into the essence of a thing, but are external to it (as p. 115, n. 2). The latter meaning would not suit, partly because this would be a strange way of speaking of 'popular treatises,' partly because it would not fit those cases in which Aristotle again takes up in later works, as being suitable and adequate, what he had said in the *ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι* (as in the passages of the *Politics*, *Ethics*,

inferred either from the words *ἐξωτερικοί λόγοι* themselves, or from the surrounding facts, that Aristotle's Dialogues alone were meant. There may have been, and in fact there appear to have been, other works also which were adapted to the understanding of the general public.<sup>1</sup>

As to the later theories, the idea that the Master did not intend his strictly scientific work for publication at all is refuted by the contemporary record of the complaints that were made because he published them : <sup>2</sup> and the idea that he designedly chose for them a style obscure and unintelligible to the lay mind is disproved by the visible characteristics of the texts themselves. The truth is that, except in cases where we ought to consider them as mere sets of notes for his own use, he takes all manner of trouble to aid the reader, by the use of a strictly devised scientific terminology, by clear definitions, by explanations and illustrations, by methodical processes of thought, and by warnings against possible obscurities, ambiguities or misconceptions. If it be true nevertheless that there occur many particular points of

and *Metaphysics* given on p. 115, n. 4). Such writings could only be called exoteric, in this use of the word, in the sense that they were known and in use even outside the Aristotelian school. But it comes to very much the same thing also if we start (as Zeller prefers to do), with the *second* meaning of *ἐξωτερικός*, and understand the *ἐξωτ. λόγοι* to signify such works as were intended for outsiders or for the general public, the same, in fact, as are included in the terms *λόγοι ἐκδεδωμένοι* or *ἐν κοινῷ γιγνόμενοι*. That such writings were of a more

popular character was implied in the designation, but not directly expressed in the adjective *ἐξωτερικός* as such. When Eudemos puts the *λόγοι ἐξωτ.* in opposition to those *κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν* (see preceding note), we might understand the latter to mean 'such as were intended to serve for scientific instruction'; but at the same time there is nothing against the translation 'both in those intended for the general public and in the scientific treatises.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 60, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 22, n. 1, 112, n. 3,

difficulty, the reasons are to be found anywhere rather than in the writer's intention. Besides, it is obvious that any such theory attributes to the philosopher a very childish sort of mystification, wholly destitute of any reasonable motive.

It does seem, however, to be true that it was only a portion of his writings which Aristotle *published*, in the sense of making express provision for their dissemination to a wide circle of general readers. Others which were more closely connected with his oral teaching seem to have been designed primarily for the use of his scholars as textbooks.<sup>1</sup> It was in the case of the former only that he took pains to cultivate that eloquence and artistic completeness and that popular style of exposition for which his 'exoteric' works were famous. The sole aim of the second set of texts was scientific investigation for its own sake, and they were therefore distinguished by a stricter logic and a less artistic dress. It seems that of the former class by far the greater part, if not the whole, consisted of those writings which Aristotle wrote before the opening of the Peripatetic School at Athens, and chiefly while he was still one of the Platonic circle: of all of which nothing remains but a few fragments.<sup>2</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> But without our having to suppose that they were forbidden to communicate them to others.

<sup>2</sup> 'In this sense', says Prof. Zeller, 'I had already expressed myself in the second edition, p. 98, as to the probable state of facts with regard to the distinction between exoteric and esoteric writings. On the other hand, I then believed that, in the Aristotelian passages which men-

tion the *ἐξωτερικοί λόγοι*, I could everywhere translate that phrase as meaning such discussions as do not belong to the sphere of the inquiry actually under investigation. (Thus also SCHWEGLER, *Gesch. d. griech. Phil.* 194.) I have now rejected this opinion, and think that the general meaning of *ἐξωτερικός*, to designate something external, or relating to the external, is more

such a theory there may have been a great difference in form between the 'exoteric' and the 'acroatic' texts,

appropriate. It follows that even in the combination *ἐξωτερικοί λόγοι* this expression will apply not only to such discussions as lie outside a specified subject (as p. 115, n. 1), or are concerned only with what is external to it (p. 115, n. 2), but also to such as are current outside a particular circle (p. 115, n. 3), or such as are intended for outsiders (p. 115, n. 4). According as we begin from this or that passage in Aristotle, and extend the meaning of the expression in that particular passage to all the other cases, we get this or that rendering of the *ἐξωτ. λόγοι*. This is the explanation of the fact that even now there are the most diverse opinions on the matter. Of these, the farthest removed from the explanation which has prevailed since the time of Andronicus, which understands by this expression a particular class of Aristotelian writings, is the supposition of MADVIG (Exc. vii. on Cic. *De Fin.*), PRANTL (*Arist. Physik.* p. 501, 32), SPENGLER ('*Arist. Studien*,' *Abh. d. bayr. Akad.* x. 181 sq.), FORCHHAMMER (*Arist. und die exoter. Reden*, cf. particularly pp. 15, 64), and SUSEMIHL (*Philol. Anz.* v. 674 sq.), that only the conversations of non-philosophical circles are designated by the *ἐξωτ. λόγοι*. Rather nearer to it are RAVAILLON (*Métaph. d'Arist.* i. 209 sq.) and THUROT (*Études sur Aristote*, 209 sq.), who understand by them such dialectic discussions (in contradistinction to the strictly scientific), as proceed by arguments *πρὸς δόξαν*, occurring either in

Aristotelian writings, or in the oral disputations of the school. These, in their view, may be called exoteric, either because they always have to deal with something foreign to the matter (cf. the *ἐξω* and *ἔσω* *λόγος*, *Anal.* i. 10, 76, b, 24), or because they always treat the subject externally. GROTE (*Aristotle*, 63 sq.) agrees with them, except that, besides the Aristotelian Dialogues and some extracts from the acroamatic works, he thinks conversations outside the school are referred to. In like manner (though with the exclusion of conversations outside the school) UEBERWEG (*Gesch. d. Phil.* i. 143, 5th ed.). ONCKEN (*Staatsl. d. Arist.* i. 43 sq.) refers the term to oral discussions, allied to the scientific lectures in which the *ἐξωτ. λόγοι* are mentioned, but of a different class from them. On the other hand RITTER (*Gesch. d. Phil.* iii. 21 sq.) holds more closely to the statements of the ancient writers about the two classes of Aristotelian pupils and writings, in assuming (p. 29) that all the strictly scientific works were only written by Aristotle as a help to his lectures and were only published, at a later period, by himself or his pupils, and perhaps at first only for the latter; whereas the remaining writings (which are lost to us), were designed for the use of cultured persons and might, together with any corresponding lectures, be called exoteric. A like position is held, in the main, by BERNAYS (*Dial. d. Arist.*), who by the exoteric discourses under-

and it may be very true that the matter of the former was less advanced than the systematic doctrine of the Master, as we have it from his riper years; but it is entirely beside the mark to suggest that he sought in either the one case or the other to conceal his opinions or to withdraw them from the reader's eye.

It is not only, however, the distinction noted between these 'published' or 'exoteric' books and the others, which points to the conclusion that the extant, closely reasoned writings of Aristotle were written primarily for his scholars, as classbooks only. In the texts themselves there are many indications which it is hard to reconcile with the idea that they were really *published*, in the full sense of the word, during Aristotle's lifetime.

In the first place there is the remarkable circumstance<sup>1</sup> that a book which is cited in another nevertheless

stands such lectures chiefly. HEITZ (*Verl. Schr. d. Ar.* 122 sqq.), though agreeing with him in substance, prefers to give the expression (with reference to *Phys.* iv. 10 *init.*) the broader meaning, and to make it imply a point of view farther removed from true science. BONITZ (*Ind. Arist.* 104, b, 44 sqq.; *Zeitschriften für östr. Gymn.* 1866, 776 sq.) takes a similar view. STAHR (*Aristoteleia*, ii. 239 sqq., cf. especially 275 sq.), and BRANDIS (*Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 101 sqq.) express themselves less decidedly—the former believing that by the exoteric writings are meant partly those in which something was treated merely in passing, partly and principally those which did not essentially belong to the systematic connection of

the philosophical writings, such as the Dialogues, partly a special manner of philosophising; the latter broadly identifying the exoteric writings with the popular ones, but abstaining from further definition of them or of the expression "exoteric discourses." THOMAS (*De Arist. ἑξωτ. λόγους*) stands quite isolated with his strange whim of looking for Aristotle's exoteric discourses in the greater *Ethics*. Space does not permit me a more searching examination of these various suppositions; the principles on which it would be based are contained in what has been said above. STAHR, *ibid.*, gives all the earlier references which bear upon the question.

<sup>1</sup> RITTER (iii. 29) and BRANDIS (ii. b, 113) have already

cites that other book itself: or that an earlier treatise speaks of an inquiry as already completed, and yet a later treatise says it is in contemplation only. These cases are not rare. The *Topics* is frequently cited in the *Analytics*,<sup>1</sup> and yet cites the latter four times.<sup>2</sup> All four may belong to a later-written portion of the *Topics*, but at any rate they cannot be later than the *Analytics*, in which these same books are cited as well as the earlier ones.<sup>3</sup> When the *Physics* refers us back to discussions which, as we know them, exist only in the *Metaphysics*, it might be said that the reference is to a section which existed as a separate treatise before the *Metaphysics* was compiled; <sup>4</sup> but it cannot be doubted that the zoological

noted this and explained in a similar way.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 67, n. 1. BONITZ (*Ind. Arist.* 102 sq.) gives the passages on which the following explanation is based, so far as they have not been expressly cited here.

<sup>2</sup> VII. 3, 153, a, 24: ἐκ τίνων δὲ δεῖ κατασκευάζειν [sc. συλλογισμὸν ὅρου] διώρισται μὲν ἐν ἑτέροις ἀκριβέστερον (cf. *Anal. Post.* ii. 13), viii. 11, 162, a, 11: φανερόν δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν (*Anal. Pr.* ii. 2), viii. 13, 162, b, 32: τὸ δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ . . . πῶς αἰτεῖται ὁ ἐρωτῶν, κατ' ἀλήθειαν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀναλυτικοῖς [*Anal. Pr.* ii. 16] εἴρηται, κατὰ δόξαν δὲ νῦν λεκτέον, ix. 2 (*Soph. El.*), 165, b, 8: περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀποδεικτικῶν [sc. συλλογισμῶν] ἐν τοῖς ἀναλυτικοῖς εἴρηται.

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Pr.* ii. 15, 64, a, 36 (ἔστι δὲ δι' ἄλλων ἐρωτημάτων συλλογισασθαι θάτερον ἢ ὡς ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς ἐλέχθη λαβεῖν) refers to *Top.* viii. and *Anal. Pr.* ii. 17, 65, b, 15 (ὑπερ εἴρηται καὶ ἐν τοῖς

τοπικοῖς) to the passage *Top.* ix. 4, 167, b, 21, with which what follows is also closely connected.

<sup>4</sup> In *Phys.* i. 8, 191, b, 2 Aristotle remarks, after a discussion on the possibility of coming into existence: εἰς μὲν δὴ τρόπος οὗτος, ἄλλος δ' ὅτι ἐνδέχεται ταῦτὰ λέγειν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν· τοῦτο δ' ἐν ἄλλοις διώρισται δι' ἀκριβείας μᾶλλον. This reference is most probably to a passage in the *Metaphysics* (for to refer it to one of the lost writings is forbidden by the fact that Aristotle is not accustomed in other places to quote these latter, as he cites the dogmatic writings, with the simple ἐν ἄλλοις; cf. p. 108, n. 3). In the *Metaph.*, however, it not only agrees with ix. 6 sqq., but also with v. 7, 1017, a, 35 sqq., i.e. the treatise *Περὶ τοῦ ποσαχῶς*, cf. p. 76, n. 3. The same is true of *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 10, 336, b, 29, as compared with *Metaph.* v. 7.

tract cited in the *De Cælo*<sup>1</sup> was written later than that work.<sup>2</sup> The *Meteorology* refers to the *De Sensu*:<sup>3</sup> and yet in its own preamble it described itself as the close of the series of investigations as to inorganic nature, after which the works on Animals and Plants were to be taken up. The *Natural History* quotes the book on Plants, which is spoken of in texts that are demonstrably later as being still unwritten.<sup>4</sup> The same treatise on Plants is referred to in an early section of the *Περὶ ζῴων γενέσεως* as already existing, and in a later one as yet to come.<sup>5</sup> The lost book on Food is quoted in the *De Somno*; <sup>6</sup> in the later works on the Parts and Generation of Animals, it is promised as in the future.<sup>7</sup> There is a similar relation of cross reference between these same tracts and one of the lesser physiological

<sup>1</sup> *De Cælo*, ii. 2, 284, b, 13: if the world had a right and left side, it would also be obliged to have an above and below, a before and behind; διόρισται μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς τῶν ζῴων κινήσεις (*Ingr. An.* 2, 704, b, 18, sqq., *ibid.* c, 4 sq.) διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως οἰκεία τῆς ἐκείνων εἶναι.

<sup>2</sup> This is proved not only from *Meteorol.* i. 1 *fin.* but also because the History of Animals and Π. ζῴων μορίων are quoted; see *Ind. Arist.* 100, a, 55 sq.

<sup>3</sup> III. 2 *fin.*: ἔστω δὲ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν τεθεωρημένον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις δεικνυμένοις (*De Sensu*, 3) διὰ τὰ μὲν λέγωμεν, τοῖς δ' ὡς ὑπάρχουσι χρῆσώμεθα αὐτῶν. Still more clearly must we, in *Meteor.* ii. 3, 359, b, 21, refer the *εἰρηται* ἐν ἄλλοις to *De Sensu*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *H. An.* v. 1, 539, a, 20:

ὥσπερ εἰρηται ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῇ περὶ φυτῶν. On the other hand this composition, as has been shown on p. 93, n. 1, is first promised in works which on their part quote in many places the History of Animals, *De Vita et M., Part. An.*, and *Gen. An.*

<sup>5</sup> I. 23, 731, a, 29: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν φυτῶν ἐν ἐτέροις ἐπέσκειπται. On the other hand v. 3, 783, b, 23: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων (the falling of the leaves in winter) ἐν ἄλλοις τὸ αἴτιον λεκτέον (cf. i. 1, 716, a, 1: περὶ μὲν οὖν φυτῶν, αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ χωρὶς ἐπισκεπτέον, and p. 93, n. 1).

<sup>6</sup> C. 3, 456, b, 5: εἰρηται δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς περὶ τροφῆς.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. p. 92, and on the chronological relation of the writings Π. ὄπνου, Π. ζῴων μορίων, Π. ζῴων γενέσεως, see BONITZ, *Ind. Arist.* 103, a, 16 sqq., 55 sqq.

texts,<sup>1</sup> making it impossible to say which comes before the other. The tract on the Parts of Animals is cited once in that on the Motion of Animals, which it cites three times itself.<sup>2</sup>

How are we to treat this peculiarity? Are we so to pervert the formulæ of reference in all these cases as to read what ostensibly refers to an earlier writing as if it were only an indication of something intended in a later one? This would be negatived by the number of cases in which the phenomenon recurs—itself a notable fact—and also by the circumstance that in several cases the assumption of the later treatise as a thing already in existence is too intimately interwoven with the tenor of the passage to allow the change.<sup>3</sup> The like reasons stand equally against the theory that these abnormal references crept into the text after Aristotle's death.<sup>4</sup> But there is a far

<sup>1</sup> Π. ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, together with the connected Π. ἀναπνοῆς, cf. p. 91 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ingr.* *An.* 5, 706, a, 33: many animals have the front and hind parts near one another, ὅλον τὰ τε μαλάκια καὶ τὰ στρομβώδη τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων. εἴρηται δὲ περὶ τούτων πρότερον ἐν ἑτέροις (*Part.* *An.* iv. 9, 684, b, 10 sqq., 34, where the same is said of the μαλάκιδ τε καὶ στρομβώδη τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων). On the other hand, *Part.* *An.* iv. 11, 690, b, 14: ἡ δ' αἰτία τῆς ἀποδίας αὐτῶν (of snakes) εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς πορείας τῶν ζῴων (c. 8, 708, a, 9 sqq.) διαρισμένοις. *Ibid.* 692, a, 16: περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν καμπύλων κάμψεως ἐν τοῖς περὶ πορείας (c. 7, 707, b, 7, sqq.) πρότερον ἐπέσκειται κοινῇ περὶ πάντων. With reference to the same passage, iv. 13, 696, a, 11:

τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἐν τοῖς περὶ πορείας καὶ κινήσεως τῶν ζῴων εἴρηται.

<sup>3</sup> Thus *Top.* vii. 3, 153, a, 24, where two lines would have to be thrown out in order to remove the reference, and *Meteorol.* iii. 2 *fin.* (p. 125, n. 3), where the ὡς ὑπάρχονσι, χρησώμεθα plainly shows that the reference is not to a future exposition. Still more violent than the changes of text here contested is the resource (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 118 sq.) of giving to εἴρηται, when necessary, the meaning of ῥηθήσεται, and of denying the reference to the future in expressions like εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἀποκείσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the passages given in the preceding note, this suggestion seems especially objectionable in *De Cælo*, ii. 2 (*vid.*



simpler explanation, if it be true that he did not at once publish those books in which we find references to later texts as already written, but used them for a time only among his scholars and in connection with his oral lectures. In such manuscripts addenda would be introduced—and among them references to works written later would come in from time to time. If the author was never able to give to such a work any final revision for the purpose of publication, it might well happen that in one place a reference would stand in its originally correct form, as to a future work, though in another passage of the same or an earlier text a note might have been incorporated which spoke of the same work as already written. The same theory will explain the fact that the *Politics*—which we have every reason to consider as a book never finished by Aristotle, and published in its unfinished form after his death<sup>1</sup>—is cited in the *Rhetoric*, along with the *Poetics*,<sup>2</sup> which is itself spoken of by the *Politics* in the future tense.<sup>3</sup> The fact is that Aristotle had written a part of the *Politics* before he wrote the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*. Therefore he could call the *Poetics* a future book in the *Politics*, and yet quote a passage of the *Politics* in the *Rhetoric*. If he

*supra*, p. 125, n. 1) since the εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ, &c. (line 18) corresponds with the διάρῖσται μὲν οὖν (line 13). The whole passage from διάρῖσται τοῦ εἰλόγον ὑπάρχειν ἐν αὐτῷ (line 20), could be dispensed with, and it would all have to be taken as a post-Aristotelian interpolation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, ch. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> The *Politics* i. 8, 1366, a, 21 (δηκρίβεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολιτι-

κοῖς περὶ τούτων), the *Poetics* frequently, *vid. supra* p. 102, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> VIII. 7, 1341, b, 39: on the 'catharsis' νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον, which, as Bernays (*Abh. d. hist. phil. Ges. in Breslau*, p. 139) rightly supposes, probably refers to a lost section of our *Poetics*, and not to one of the *Politics* (HEITZ, *Verl. Schr.* 100 sq.).

had published the *Rhetoric*, he could not in it have referred as he did to the unpublished *Politics*.<sup>1</sup>

The closing words of the *Topics*<sup>2</sup> seem to indicate that Aristotle's treatises were meant primarily for his scholars. Addressing his readers, he bespeaks their indulgence or their thanks for the theory he has unfolded to them,<sup>3</sup> referring specially to those who have heard his lectures. This does not imply that our *Topics* are only the lecture notes of the Master, or the note-book of one of his hearers. Such a view is negatived both by the wording of the passage,<sup>4</sup> and by the fact that in later writings he often refers to the *Topics* himself<sup>5</sup> in words which cannot be explained away as relating either to a lost book of his own or to another author. Such an address would be out of place in a work which was tendered to an unlimited circle of readers by formal publication, but it is entirely natural if the *Topics* was then issued only to Aristotle's scholars

<sup>1</sup> It is more difficult to explain the strange fact that *Rhet.* iii. 1, 1404, b, 22 speaks of the actor Theodorus as if he were still living and acting, whilst *Polit.* viii. 17, 1336, b, 27 treats him as one belonging to the past. But here the question arises, whether we possess, in the third book of *Rhetoric*, the work of Aristotle himself, or the work of a later writer, who, in this passage, which seems to be in the genuine style of Aristotle, may have used one of his earlier works. Cf. p. 72, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Soph. El.* 33 fin.: Aristotle had no predecessor for his theory of demonstration; εἰ δὲ φαίνεται θεασαμένοις ὑμῖν . . . ἔχειν ἡ μέθοδος

ἰκανῶς παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πραγματείας τὰς ἐκ παραδόσεως ᾠδημένας, λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη πάντων ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν ἡκροαμένων ἔργον τοῖς μὲν παραλελειμμένοις τῆς μεθόδου συγγνώμην τοῖς δ' εὐρημένοις πολλὴν ἔχειν χάριν.

<sup>3</sup> Some MSS. read, instead of ὑμῖν and ὑμῶν, ἡμῖν and ἡμῶν; but Aristotle could not possibly have included himself among those whom he thanks, and to whom he apologises.

<sup>4</sup> Which distinguishes among the readers - the 'ἡκροαμένοι' from the rest; only by striking out the ἢ before τῶν ἡκροαμένων could we get a simple address to listeners, but the MSS. all have it.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Arist.* 102, a, 40 sqq.

as a memorial of the contents of his lectures or as an auxiliary to them.<sup>1</sup> That this was true of some of his books, must be inferred from other passages also. The synopsis of varying meanings of words, which now forms the fifth book of the *Metaphysics*, could never have been published by Aristotle in its present form as a glossary without beginning or end. It can only have been placed in the hands of his scholars simply as an aid to his teaching. Yet he often refers to it, and that even in texts earlier than the *Metaphysics*.<sup>2</sup> The same argument applies to the often-cited anatomical texts,<sup>3</sup> which must have been limited to a narrow circle because of the drawings which were an essential part of them. If it be true, however, that writings which Aristotle cites were published only to his scholars, it follows that the same must be true of those in which these citations occur; for no one could in a published book refer to an unpublished one, or say that a subject not gone into was fully explained in an inaccessible tract.

The same theory by which we explain the group of peculiarities already noticed, will explain others also. The trick of carelessness in style which is so often remarked, the repetitions which surprise us in an exposition otherwise compact, the insertions which upset a naturally well-ordered movement of thought are all explained most easily if we suppose that the author never put the finishing touches to the writings in question, and that various matters were at the time of the

<sup>1</sup> As Stahr, *ibid.*, has supposed.

<sup>2</sup> About which see p. 89, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 76, n. 3, 124, n. 4.

posthumous publication added to the original text either from parallel copies or from the author's notes.<sup>1</sup> This theory becomes extremely probable when, as in the books *On the Soul*,<sup>2</sup> we find throughout considerable sections clear traces of a double recension, without any reason to say that either recension is not Aristotle's.<sup>3</sup> The same kind of argument would apply also to the *Politics* and *Metaphysics*, but as to these we have independent grounds for the belief that they remained unfinished, and were only published after his death.<sup>4</sup> If this be so, a further inference is forced on us; for we must conclude that if a certain book was a posthumous publication only, all which refer to it in such a way as to show that they follow it in the series cannot have been issued in Aristotle's life. This line of argument, even if we could apply it with high probability to nothing more than the *De Anima*, would take us a long way; for that work is cited in many of the books on natural philosophy.<sup>5</sup>

The scope and the modifications of this theory as to the way in which the Aristotelian books were produced, can only be settled by a detailed examination of the indi-

<sup>1</sup> A supposition which a number of scholars have been led to adopt, with various particular modifications: thus RITTER, iii. 29 (*vid. supra*, p. 121, n. 2 mid.); BRANDIS, ii. b, 113; UEBERWEG, *Gesch. d. Phil.* i. 174, eighth ed., SUSEMIHL, *Arist. Poët.* p. 1 sq., BERNAYS, *Arist. Politik*, 212. It is also probable that Aristotle, instead of writing, usually dictated: which would account for many of the irregularities of style, such as the lengthly and involved anacolutha.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 89, n. 2. It may be otherwise with the repetitions and disarrangements of the connection in the *Ethics*, especially bks. 5-7. Cf. p. 97, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> As in Bk. vii. of the *Physics*, on which Spengel has written in *Abh. d. Münch. Akad.* iii. 2, 305 sqq. Cf. PRANTL, *Arist. Phys.* 337.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 76, n. 3, and *infra*, Ch. xiii., *intt.*

<sup>5</sup> *Vid. supra*, p. 93, n. 2; *Ind. Ar.* 102, b, 60 sqq.

vidual texts. But the peculiarities above referred to, the reference to a class of published or 'exoteric' works, the habit of citing later books in earlier ones, the tricks of repetition and disorder which indicate the absence of the author's final revision—all these extend through almost the whole of the extant *Corpus*. From this and from the fact that, though the *Topics* and the *De Anima* were apparently written only for Aristotle's pupils, yet they are frequently cited by later treatises,<sup>1</sup> it seems very probable that the whole of our *Corpus*, so far as it is genuine, consists of books which were produced in connection with the teaching in the Lyceum, were intended at first for Aristotle's pupils only, and were made generally accessible by formal publication only after the master's death. Of the great majority of them it may also be assumed, not only from their contents, but also from their express internal correlation that Aristotle is in them working up in writing what he had already given his pupils by way of oral lectures,<sup>2</sup> though it is also likely that when they came to be published by third parties explanations were added and whole passages interpolated from Aristotle's papers or his other lectures.<sup>3</sup> A few of the texts may have served him as aids in his teaching, without being themselves matter of lecturing.<sup>4</sup> One of the books of the *Metaphysics*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 129 and 130.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. what has been remarked on p. 128 sq. with regard to the closing words of the *Topics*.

<sup>3</sup> As, from what has been said on pp. 76 and 130, seems to have been the case

in the *Metaphysics* and the *De Anima*.

<sup>4</sup> Like the composition *Περὶ τοῦ ποσάχους* (cf. p. 76, n. 3, at p. 77). One is inclined to think the same of the *Ἀνατομία*.

<sup>5</sup> The twelfth, cf. same note, at p. 78.

seems to have been a plan for a lecture course, though not intended, in its present shape, for communication to his pupils. This, however, cannot well be true of any great portion of the extant writings. That theory is excluded in the first place by the all-pervading system of cross references, which both in number and in manner go far beyond anything that Aristotle could have wanted for himself.<sup>1</sup> Again it is negatived by the fact that, in spite of all the defects already referred to, these works are from a literary point of view far more carefully worked up than they would have been if they were merely sketches for the lecturer's own use. Then again, the unusual recurrence of formulæ of introduction, transition and conclusion, shows that the author is writing, not for himself, but for others.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bk. xii. of the *Metaphysics* has in the first half none at all, and in the second, which is worked out much more fully (since the *δέδεικται*, c. 7, 1073, a, 5, relates to c. 6, 1071, b, 20), a single reference (c. 8, 1073, a, 32: *δέδεικται δ' ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς περὶ τούτων*). It is otherwise in most of the other works. Still more decisive, however, is the form of the references. No one uses for himself expressions like the *φαμὲν* mentioned in p. 115, n. 4, or circumstantial formulas, like *ἐκ τε τῆς ἰστορίας τῆς περὶ τὰ ζῶα φανερὸν καὶ τῶν ἀνατομῶν καὶ ὕστερον λεχθήσεται ἐν τοῖς περὶ γενέσεως* (*Part. An.* iv. 10, 689, a, 18), and the like (the *Ind. Ar.* 97, b, sqq. furnishes examples), or like those quoted on p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> To this class belongs the conclusion of the *Topics* (see p. 128, n. 2); the *νῦν δὲ λέγωμεν*

(*Soph. El.* c. 2, *fin.*; *Metaph.* vii. 12, *init.*, xiii. 10, 1086, b, 16 and *supra*), *ὥσπερ λέγομεν*, *ὥσπερ ἐλέγομεν* (*Eth. N.* vi. 3, 1139, b, 26, *Metaph.* iv. 5, 1010, a, 4, *Rhet.* i. 1, 1055, a, 28 and *supra*), *καθάπερ ἐπήλθομεν* (*Metaph.* x. 2, *init.*, xiii. 2, 1076, b, 39), *καθάπερ διειλόμεθα* (*Metaph.* vii. 1, *init.*), & *διωρίσαμεν, ἐν οἷς διωρισάμεθα, τὰ διωρισμένα ἡμῶν* (*Metaph.* i. 4, 985, a, 11, vi. 4, *fin.*, i. 7, 1028, a, 4), *δῆλον ἡμῖν* (*Rhet.* i. 2, 1356, b, 9, 1357, a, 29), *τεθεώρηται ἡμῖν ἱκανῶς περὶ αὐτῶν* (*Metaph.* i. 3, 983, a, 33); cf. also those sentences in which what has been discussed before is summed up, and what is going to be treated is announced (e.g. *Metaph.* xiii. 9, 1086, a, 18 sqq., *Rhet.* i. 2, 1356, b, 10 sqq.; *Soph. El.* c. 33, 183, a, 33 sqq.; *Meteorol.* *init.*). ONCKEN (*Staatsl. d. Ar.*, i. 58) cites, from the *Nicom. Ethics* and

Another unlikely theory<sup>1</sup> is that which suggests that the whole or a great part of our *Corpus* consists of transcripts in which Aristotle's pupils had set down the contents of his lectures. We have seen that they are in all probability closely connected with the lecture courses.<sup>2</sup> But whether they are a mere transcript of these, or a free working-up of the same matter, whether they were designed to repeat as correctly as might be the words of the master, or to leave us a spiritual reproduction of his thoughts, whether in fine they were written by his pupils or by himself, is a very different question. The note-theory may rely on the suggestion that it would explain the carelessness of the methods of

the *Politics* alone, thirty-two passages with such formulas. No one will believe that Aristotle would have had to write down all such expressions in his lecture-book, like a man beginning to teach, who is not sure of a single word.

<sup>1</sup> ONCKEN, *ibid.* 48 sqq. following SCALIGER. O. there remarks (62 sq.) that he thinks he has only made this supposition probable with regard to the *Ethics* and *Politics*, but his reasons would hold equally for the majority of our Aristotelian writings.

<sup>2</sup> Oncken, in proof of this, rightly appeals, besides other passages (p. 59 sq.), to those passages of the *Ethics* in which an audience is spoken of: *Eth.* i. 1, 1095, a, 2, 11: διὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς οὐκ ἔστι οἰκείος ἀκροατῆς ὁ νέος . . . περὶ μὲν ἀκροατοῦ . . . πεφρομιμᾶσθω τοσαῦτα. *Ibid.* c. 2, 1095, b, 4: διὸ δεῖ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἤχθαι καλῶς τὸν

περὶ . . . τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀκουσόμενον. (*Eth.* x. 10, 1079, b, 23, 27; vii. 5, 1147, b, 9, are not relevant here; and *Pol.* vii. 1, 1323, b, 39: ἐτέρας γὰρ ἔστιν ἔργον σχολῆς ταῦτα, only means 'this belongs to another inquiry.') Oncken further proves that, in referring on any point to other works, only such expressions are used as are suited to a person who is *speaking*, such as εἰρηται, λεκτέον, ἄλλος λόγος, &c.; but such language was certainly used in referring to *writings* (like the *Problems* and the ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι, see above, p. 96, and p. 115, n. 4), and is often so used in our own days. He also refers to the title πολιτικὴ ἀκρόασις (*ap.* DIOG. v. 24); φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις is likewise universally used for the *Physics* (*vid. sup.* p. 81, n. 2); but since we do not know with whom these titles originate, not much can be inferred from them.

statement.<sup>1</sup> But on closer inquiry, this argument comes to nothing. For it is not here a question of any such defects as commonly arise in the redaction of well-ordered lectures badly reported, through omissions and repetitions and the erroneous piecing together of the broken argument. It is more a question of peculiarities of style not restrained by the writer, which are too characteristic and too constant in their character to allow us to make chance and the errors of third persons answerable for them.<sup>2</sup> Such an origin might be thought possible if they appeared in some books and not in others. But as they in fact extend, though in varying degrees, through the whole, they can only be ascribed to Aristotle himself. The very style and form of the

<sup>1</sup> And this is the chief ground on which Oncken bases his opinion. The defects of our texts are most easily explained 'from the natural defects of a peripatetic monologue' (he says, p. 62), 'hastily copied in and badly edited from the note-books of the audience.'

<sup>2</sup> With these must be reckoned the formation of the sentences (searchingly investigated by BONITZ, *Arist. Stud.* ii. 3 sqq.) especially the explanations, often of considerable length, which are parenthetically introduced, and the anacolutha consequent on this; the frequent use or absence of certain particles (proofs of which are to be found in EUCKEN, *De Arist. Dicendi Ratione*, and in Bonitz's notice of this work in the *Ztschr. f. d. östr. Gymn.* 1866, 804 sqq.), and similar points. The same is the true view as to the questions

occurring so often in all Aristotelian writings, which are put at one time in simple form, at another (as in *De An.* i. 1, 403, b, 7 sqq., *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 11, 337, b, 5, and in the passages explained by BONITZ, *Arist. Stud.* ii. 16 sq., *ibid.* 6, 333, b, 30) in a disjunctive form, but are not answered. That such unanswered questions could not have occurred in a composition (ONCKEN, *ibid.* 61), one cannot allow — how many, for instance, are found, only to mention one modern writer, in Lessing! Neither can one admit the supposition (*ibid.* 59), that they were answered, in oral discourse, by the audience or the teacher. They seem to be, both in Aristotle and Lessing, a very natural diversion of an acute and lively Dialectic, which would have been more likely to be removed than retained by any reporter.



writings therefore afford a strong indication that not only their contents but their language is Aristotle's own. A like conclusion follows also (as we have seen<sup>1</sup>) from the series of cross references; for in a lecture a man might allude to one or two past courses, but could hardly refer to a whole series of lectures widely distant in date, as to which he could not assume that the details were in the memory of his present audience.<sup>2</sup> It seems moreover that in many cases, as in the Natural Philosophy, the matter of the various treatises goes too closely into detail for the purposes of oral teaching. Such lectures would have taxed the attention and memory of the most zealous hearer, and it is difficult to see how they could have been transcribed so perfectly.<sup>3</sup> Yet these treatises stand on no different footing from the rest.

We learn that Theophrastus and Eudemus in their *Analytics* followed Aristotle, not only in the general plan, but in details,<sup>4</sup> and we can bring proof that these followers adopted word for word several passages of the extant *Metaphysics*.<sup>5</sup> Eudemus adopted the *Ethics* of

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 128, 131.

<sup>2</sup> Note, in relation to this point, how one and the same composition is frequently referred to in the most remote places, and how, on the other hand, the most widely differing texts are cited in the same treatise. Thus the *Physics*, *De Cælo*, *Gen. et Corr.*, *Meteor.*, *De Anima*, *De Sensu*, *Part. An.*, are quoted in many passages of the *Metaphysics* and in the *Ethics*; the books on *Generation and Corruption* in the *Meteorology*, *Metaphysics*, *De*

*Anima*, *De Sensu*, *Part. An.*, *Gen. An.*; the *Metaphysics* quote the *Analytics*, *Physics*, *De Cælo*, *Ethics*, the ἐκλογή τῶν ἐναντίων; in the *Rhetoric*, the *Topics*, *Analytics*, *Politics*, *Poetics*, and the Θεοδέκτεια are quoted.

<sup>3</sup> The notion of formal dictation can hardly be suggested, but if it were, it would imply that our Aristotelian writings were the work of Aristotle himself and not his pupils' notes.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 78, n. 1.

Aristotle, and still more the *Physics*,<sup>1</sup> often verbally, into his own corresponding texts. We actually possess letters in which Eudemus consults Theophrastus as to the text of a particular passage and receives his answer.<sup>2</sup> These facts clearly justify Brandis' remark,<sup>3</sup> that the fashion in which Aristotle's followers clung to the master's writings presupposes that they were dealing with his actual words. As to the *Topics* in particular, it has been already proved that it is not a mere transcript by another hand, but that on the contrary it bears to be and must have been the work of Aristotle (see p. 128).

If it be true that the philosophical works of Aristotle had not yet passed at his death beyond the circle of his personal hearers, this circumstance would make it also intelligible that they might for a long time, even after his death, have been withheld from general publicity, or that they might even by an unlucky accident have been lost to the Peripatetic School. And, according to a curious and well-known story, such an accident was said to have occurred, involving, as was supposed, the loss for two centuries of the texts of Aristotle.

<sup>1</sup> See the section dealing with *Phys.* v. 2, 226, b, 14, and are Eudemus, etc., *infra*, Ch. xix., found in SIMPL. *Phys.* 216 a, and notes thereon. *Schol.* 404, b, 10.

<sup>2</sup> These have reference to <sup>3</sup> *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii, b, 114.

## CHAPTER III

## HISTORY AND ORDER OF THE WORKS OF ARISTOTLE

STRABO and Plutarch say that the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus passed, at the death of the latter, to his heir, Neleus of Scepsis, and that they were stowed away in a cellar by the heirs of Neleus, discovered only in the early part of the last century B.C. by Apellico of Teos in a decayed condition, brought by him to Athens and thence by Sulla as spoils of war to Rome, where they were afterwards used and republished by Tyrannio and Andronicus.<sup>1</sup> From this story the writers named argue that to the Peripatetics who followed Theophrastus, not only the master's chief works, but also his true philosophical system was unknown, but they do not tell us whether this allegation is grounded on their own opinion, or on definite evidence,

<sup>1</sup> The date of this edition must have fallen somewhere about the middle of the last century B.C. For as Tyrannio was in B.C. 71 taken prisoner in Amisus and released by Muræna (cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.*, pt. iii. a, 550, 1), he could hardly have settled in Rome before Lucullus' return to Rome (66 B.C.). We know that he was even at the time of his capture a scholar of renown, that he was instructing in B.C. 57 the sons of Cicero, and had some intercourse with the latter and Atticus (CIC. *Ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 5, *Ad Att.* iv. 4, 8). His work at Rome could not, therefore, have extended very far beyond the middle of the century, even though he perhaps lived on into the last third of it. (He died according to Suid. *s. v. γηραιός*, in the third year of an Olympiad the number of which has unfortunately been miswritten.) About Andronicus cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.*, pt. iii. a, 549, 3, and above, p. 49, n. 6.

and if so, what the nature of the evidence might be.<sup>1</sup> Later critics found in the tale a welcome explanation of the incompleteness and irregularities of the existing *Corpus*.<sup>2</sup> If in truth the case were exactly as Strabo and Plutarch say, we should not only not wonder at the existing defects, but we should rather have expected a far wider and more hopeless corruption than appears in fact to exist. For if it were true of the most important

<sup>1</sup> Our authorities for the above narrative are, as we have remarked, Strabo (xiii. 1, 54, p. 608) and Plutarch (*Sulla*, 26), for Suid. Σύλλας only copies Plutarch. The latter, however, undoubtedly gets his information from Strabo. The only thing which the latter does not give is the remark that Andronicus obtained copies of the Aristotelian works through Tyrannio, published them, and wrote the *τοὺς νῦν φερομένους πίνακας*. Plut. may have added this from what he knew from other sources, or also (as Stahr supposes in *Arist.* ii. 23) from Strabo's historical work (made use of immediately afterwards for an incident in Sulla's residence at Athens). We have no right to suppose (HEITZ, *Verl. Schr.* 10) a source for his information about Apellico's discovery of books, independent of Strabo. Hence our only stable witness for this item is Strabo. But we do not know to whom the latter was indebted for his information; the supposition that it was Andronicus is very unsafe. Strabo, after the statements as to the purchase of the Aristotelian books by Apellico, and as to his faulty editing of them, says: *συνέβη δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων*,

*τοῖς μὲν πάλαι τοῖς μετὰ Θεόφραστον οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὅλως τὰ βιβλία πλὴν ὀλίγων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἑξωτερικῶν, μηδὲν ἔχειν φιλοσοφεῖν πραγματικῶς ἀλλὰ θέσεις ληκυθίζειν τοῖς δ' ὕστερον, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα προήλθεν, ἄμεινον μὲν ἐκείνων φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ἀριστοτελεῖν, ἀναγκάζεσθαι μὲντοι τὰ πολλὰ εἰκότα λέγειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.* But we can only suppose this to have been taken from Andronicus, if we limit the 'younger Peripatetics' (*τοῖς δ' ὕστερον*, &c.) to those predecessors of Andronicus who were able to use the editions of Apellico and Tyrannio, and it is very questionable whether anyone could attribute to these men, who are quite unknown to us, an improvement of the Peripatetic doctrine, and a closer insight into Aristotle, such as might with reason be ascribed to Andronicus. As little can we assume Tyrannio or Boëthius (to whom Grote ascribes it, *Aristotle*, i. 54) as Strabo's source of information, since the former would have taken a different view of his own edition, and the latter of the younger Peripatetics.

<sup>2</sup> Thus BUHLE, *Allg. Encycl.* Sect. i. vol. v. 278 sq., and lately HEITZ; see next page, n. 2.

works that the only source of our extant text was to be found in these MSS., which rotted for a century and more in the cellar of Scepsis, till Apellico found them worm-eaten, ruined by damp, and tossed into a disordered heap—if it be true that he, as Strabo says, supplied unskilfully the missing portions, and that Tyrannio and Andronicus also had no further manuscripts they could collate—who then could guarantee that in any number of cases there would not have been foreign matter, found among Neleus' MSS., adopted into Aristotle's text, or connected parts of his own works separated, and other portions blunderingly bound together, or lacunæ great and small filled up by the editor's fancy?

Modern criticism has, however, raised doubts about Strabo's story<sup>1</sup> which even its defenders cannot altogether silence.<sup>2</sup> That Theophrastus bequeathed his library to Neleus is beyond doubt.<sup>3</sup> That the MSS. of

<sup>1</sup> After the isolated and disregarded voice of a learned Frenchman, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, had raised doubts as to this narration (see what Stahr gives in *Arist. ii.* 163 sq. from the *Journal des Sçavans* of the year 1717, p. 655 sqq., as to the anonymous composition *Les Aménités de la Critique*), BRANDIS ('Ueb. die Schicksale d. arist. Bücher.' *Rhein. Mus.* v. Niebuhr and Brandis, i. 236 sqq., 259 sqq.; cf. *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b. 66 sqq.) was the first to deal with it seriously. KOPF (*Rhein. Mus.* iii. 93 sqq.) supplemented his criticism, and finally STAHR has discussed the question with exhaustive parti-

cularity (*Aristotelia*, ii. 1-166, cf. 294 sq.). Later scholars have mostly followed them.

<sup>2</sup> HEITZ, *Verl. Schr. d. Ar.* 9 sqq., 20, 29 sqq.; GROTE, *Aristotle*, i. 50 sqq.; GRANT, *Ethics of Ar.* i. 5 sqq., *Aristotle*, 3 sqq. Certain errors in Strabo's and Plutarch's representation are indeed admitted by these scholars, but in the main it is said to be correct. It is impossible here to examine in detail the reasons given for this opinion, but the grounds for its rejection are fully dealt with in the text.

<sup>3</sup> Theophrastus' will, *apud* DIOG. v. 52; cf. ATHEN. i. 3, where it is added that Ptolemy Philadelphus bought the whole

Aristotle and Theophrastus belonging to that library passed to the heirs of Neleus and were by them hidden in a canal or cellar to escape a royal book-collector and were afterwards found by Apellico in a desperate condition, there is no need to doubt.<sup>1</sup> All the *facts* which Strabo relates as to the matter may therefore be correct enough. And it is also beyond question that Andronicus' edition of the Aristotelian text-books was of epoch-making importance both for the study of the system and for the preservation of the text. If, however, it be maintained that these writings were nowhere to be found outside the Scepsis cellar and were unknown therefore to the Peripatetic School after the death of Theophrastus, there are the strongest arguments against any such theory.

In the first place, it is almost incredible that an event so singularly notable as the discovery of the lost masterpieces of Aristotle should never have been even alluded to by any of those who, since that time, have concerned themselves with Aristotle, as critics or as philosophers. Cicero says not a word, though he had abundant occasion, for he lived at Rome at the very time when Tyrannio was working among the literary booty of Sulla, and was, in fact, in active intercourse with Tyrannio himself. Alexander, 'the Exegete,' says nothing; nor does any one of the Greek critics who used the very works of Andronicus, either at first or at second

collection of Neleus and had it brought to Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> For when Athenæus, or the epitomiser of his introduction, *ibid.*, asserts that the *whole library* of Neleus was taken to

Alexandria, this may easily be an inexact expression, just as it is inexact, in the opposite way, when, in v 214, he makes Apellico possess not the *works*, but the *library* of Aristotle.

hand. Andronicus himself seems to have ascribed to Apellico's discovery so little importance that he based neither the inquiry into the genuineness of a tract nor the discussion of a various reading upon any reference to the MSS. of Neleus.<sup>1</sup> Later editors did not in any way feel themselves bound by his text,<sup>2</sup> though if Strabo were right, it could be the only authentic one.

On the other hand, the theory that by the loss of the works of Aristotle, the followers of Theophrastus strayed from the original teachings of their school and lost themselves in mere rhetorical developments, is an obvious contradiction of the facts. It may be true that the Peripatetics of the third century strayed away as time went on from the study of natural philosophy and metaphysics, but this change took place not on the death of Theophrastus, but at the earliest on the death of his successor Strato. So far was he from confining himself to ethics and rhetoric, that he devoted himself, on the contrary, with a one-sided preference to physics, though he by no means neglected logic and metaphysics. He frequently contradicted Aristotle; but that could not be by ignorance of the Aristotelian system, because he attacked it expressly.<sup>3</sup> It does not appear

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the first, cf. the account given on p. 66, n. 1. as to his doubts about the Π. Ἐρμηνείας: with respect to the second point, cf. DEXIPP. *In Arist. Categ.* p. 25, Speng. (*Schol. in Ar.* 42, a, 30): *πρώτον μὲν οὐκ ἐν ἑκάστῃ τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τὸ "ὁ δὲ λόγος τῆς οὐσίας" πρόκειται, ὡς καὶ Βοηθὸς μνημονεύει καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος*—it is not said that he has settled the dis-

pute by means of Sulla's MSS. (or, if he had not access to the latter, at least by means of the copies of Tyrannio, which, according to Plutarch, he used). It seems, therefore, that these MSS. were not the only copies nor even the original ones of the works in question. Cf. BRANDIS, *Rhein. Mus.* i. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SIMPL. *Phys.* 101, a.

<sup>3</sup> The proofs will be given,

that the scientific activity of the School came at once to an end, even after Strato's death.<sup>1</sup> The theory that the falling away of the later Peripatetics from Aristotle was due to the loss of his writings from Athens is in every way unnatural. It is much more reasonable to correlate it to the parallel movement in the Academy, which nevertheless was at no loss for texts of Plato.

But who can believe that the most important works of the great philosopher were not extant at the date of his successor's death in any other MSS. than those which Neleus inherited? or that not only in Aristotle's lifetime, but also in the nine Olympiads between his death and that of Theophrastus, not one of his many followers had ever been willing and able to possess himself of the most important sources of the Peripatetic teaching? Who can think that Eudemus, the most loyal of the Aristotelian circle, or Strato, the shrewdest of the Peripatetics, would have done without the Master's books—or that Demetrius of Phalerus did not include them in his zeal for collecting learned works—or that Ptolemy Philadelphus bought other books of Aristotle and Theophrastus for his Library of Alexandria, but omitted to obtain copies of their essential texts?

The story also supposes that the possessors of the manuscripts objected to such uses of them: that Aristotle kept his writings closely under lock and key, and that Theophrastus, for no apparent reason, kept up this

in part, in the following pages. <sup>1</sup> See, at end of vol. ii., the section on the Pseudo-Aristotelian texts (*infra*, Ch. xxi.). They will also be found in the section on the Pseudo-Aristotelian texts (*infra*, Ch. xxi.). Ch. xx., and notes thereon.



secrecy, and laid it as a duty on his heirs. All this is too absurd to need serious refutation.

We are not left, however, wholly to conjecture. The materials are very scanty for the history of a time whose philosophic literature by an unhappy accident we have almost wholly lost; but we can still prove, as to a great part of Aristotle's books, that they were not unknown to the learned men of the two centuries that elapsed between Theophrastus' death and the occupation of Athens by Sulla. Whether Aristotle did or did not himself *publish* his strictly scientific treatises, they were in any case destined to be the text-books of the School, and to be used by its members. Even those numerous passages in which they refer one to the other offer us a palpable proof that, in the view of the writer, they were not only to be read by his scholars, but closely studied and compared, and, by consequence, that copies were to be kept and multiplied. That this was done is clear, not only from the notices which we find of particular books, but from certain general considerations also.

If it is true that the Peripatetics lost the genuine Aristotelianism when the library of Theophrastus disappeared, it must be because the sources of that teaching were nowhere else to be found. But we hear not only of Theophrastus but of Eudemus also, that he imitated Aristotle<sup>1</sup> not only in the titles but also in the contents of his books; and how close was the imitation both in wording and in the line of thought, we can see for ourselves in the *Ethics* and *Physics* of Eudemus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For references see pp. 65 and 68.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 148, n. 4, and in the section on Eudemus at Ch. xix., *inf.*

To do this, Eudemus must have possessed Aristotle's texts; especially if, as a reliable story tells us,<sup>1</sup> he used them at a time when he was not living at Athens.<sup>2</sup> Again, it is beyond doubt that the Alexandrian Library included a large number of Aristotle's works.<sup>3</sup> The compilers of the Alexandrine Canon, who place Aristotle among the model writers of philosophy, may have had chiefly in view the more careful style of his exoteric writings;<sup>4</sup> but in the foundation of that great collection it is not possible that the scientific works of Aristotle can have been left out of account. If the Catalogue of Diogenes<sup>5</sup> comes from the Alexandrine Library, it is proof positive that they were there: but even if that conjecture (in itself extremely probable) were erroneous, the Catalogue still proves in any case that the compiler of

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 136, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> HEITZ (*Verl. Schr.* 13) indeed thinks that if the Aristotelian works had been universally known and published, it would be incomprehensible that Eudemus in his *Physics* (and *Ethics*) should have imitated the words of Aristotle so exactly. It seems, however, that if Eudemus had hesitated to do this with regard to published works, a plagiarism on unpublished ones must have seemed much more unlawful to him. It is impossible, however, to regard his conduct in this light at all, and he himself probably never so regarded it. His *Ethics* and *Physics* were never intended to be anything but elaborations of the Aristotelian works universally known in the Peripatetic School, adapted to the needs of his own tuition.

<sup>3</sup> Besides what has been remarked on p. 142, we have the fact that Ptolemy Philadelphus busied himself zealously about Aristotelian books, paid high prices for them, and thus gave occasion to the forgery of such texts (AMMON. *Schol. in Arist.* 28, a, 43; DAVID, *ibid.*, l. 14; SIMPL. *Categ.* 2, e). And such accounts as those noticed at p. 64, n. 1 and 67, n. 1, about the two books of the *Categories* and the forty of the *Analytics* which Adrastus found in old libraries, must refer especially to the Alexandrian Library. But it is not to be supposed that the latter obtained only substituted works, and did not possess the genuine ones, by reference to which the forgeries were proved.

<sup>4</sup> See STAHR, *ibid.* 65 sq. on this point.

<sup>5</sup> For which see p. 48 sqq.

it, who lived later than Theophrastus and earlier than Andronicus, had before him a great part of our extant *Corpus Aristotelicum*.<sup>1</sup> Its probable author, Hermippus, was acquainted with the works of Theophrastus (which according to Strabo and Plutarch were buried in Scepsis along with those of Aristotle), as is clear from his catalogue of them, preserved, apparently, by Diogenes.<sup>2</sup> That he at all events knew nothing of the disappearance of the Aristotelian writings, may probably be inferred from the silence of Diogenes on that subject.<sup>3</sup> Another strong evidence of the use of the Aristotelian books in the third century B.C. is to be found in the Stoic teaching, which in its most systematic exposition by Chrysippus follows both in logic and in physics more closely on the Aristotelian than could be possible if the Aristotelian text-books were unknown. There is, indeed, some express evidence that Chrysippus had in fact these texts in view.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 50, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the scholion at the end of the *Metaphysics* of Theophrastus: *τὸ τοῦ βιβλίου Ἀνδρόνικος μὲν καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἀγνοοῦσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ μνείαν αὐτοῦ ὅλως πεποιήται ἐν τῇ ἀναγραφῇ τῶν Θεοφράστου βιβλίων*. From the same list evidently is taken the scholion at the beginning of the seventh book of the *History of Plants* (*apud* USENER, *Anal. Theophr.* 23): *Θεοφράστου περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας τὸ η'*. *Ἑρμιππος δὲ περὶ φρυγανικῶν καὶ ποιωδῶν, Ἀνδρόνικος δὲ περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας*. DIOG. (ii. 55) names a book by Hermippus on Theophrastus, of which it probably formed a part. That the lists in Diog. v. 46 sqq., at least in part and indirectly,

originated with Hermippus, is the more probable since that writer is mentioned immediately before in v. 45.

<sup>3</sup> For, on the one hand, it is not to be supposed that Hermippus in his copious work on Aristotle (mentioned on p. 51, n. 2) would not have mentioned this circumstance, if he had been aware of it; and, on the other hand, it is very improbable that the author to whom Diogenes is indebted for his many quotations from Hermippus would have passed over this information. Diogenes, to whose literary tastes it must have recommended itself, would have seized upon it, if he found it.

<sup>4</sup> For even if we were not

If the works of Aristotle were first unearthed by Apellico and first fully known through Tyrannio and Andronicus, how could it be said of Critolaus that he imitated the old masters of his school—Aristotle, that is, and Theophrastus?<sup>1</sup> or how of Herillus the Stoic that he based himself upon them,<sup>2</sup> or of Panætius that he was always quoting them?<sup>3</sup> How could we have mention of the constant tendency of Posidonius towards Aristotle?<sup>4</sup> How could Cicero's teacher, Antiochus, have explained the Aristotelian teaching as one with the Academic, and attempted their complete and thorough-going amalgamation?<sup>5</sup> or where could opponents such as Stilpo and Hermarchus have found the material for their attacks on Aristotle?<sup>6</sup> So again, since Andronicus gives us the alleged letter in which Alexander complains to Aristotle about the publication of his doctrine,<sup>7</sup> it follows that long before that date writings of Aristotle, including some of those which were afterwards reckoned 'exoteric,' must have in fact been public property.

Scanty as are the sources open to us, we can ourselves demonstrate the public use before Andronicus, not only of many of the lost works, which, being

inclined to attach much importance to the polemic against one of the discourses mentioned on p. 56, n. 1, yet the expression in PLUT. *Sto. Rep.* 24, p. 1045, supposes acquaintance with Aristotle's dialectical writings.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Fin.* v. 5, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. 25, 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 28, 79; cf. ZELL., *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. iii. a, 503, 3, 2nd ed.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iii. a, 514, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Fuller particulars, *ibid.* 535 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Stilpo wrote, according to DIOG. ii. 120, an *'Αριστοτέλης*, Hermarchus (*ibid.* x. 25) *πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην*. From the expression of Colotes *apud* PLUT. *Adv. Col.* 14, 1, p. 1115, we can, however, conclude nothing.

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 22, n. 1, and 112, n. 3.

exoteric or hypomnematic,<sup>1</sup> are not here in point, but also of the majority of the scientific treatises themselves.

In the case of the *Analytics* we show this by the Catalogue of Diogenes and by the notices as to the use made of them by Theophrastus and Eudemus.<sup>2</sup> For the *Categories* and the *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, we have the Catalogue.<sup>3</sup> As to the former, Andronicus found in his MS. the spurious 'Post-prædicamenta' added to them, and was acquainted with several recensions, having varying titles and different readings.<sup>4</sup> It follows, therefore, that the *Categories* must have been long before his day in the hands of transcribers.<sup>5</sup> The *Topics* are in the Catalogue of Diogenes,<sup>6</sup> and Theophrastus<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The letters, *vide supra* p. 54, n. 2.; the four books, Π. δίκαιοσύνης (p. 56, n. 1), taken into consideration by Chrysippus, Teles, Demetrius (Π. ἑρμην.), probably also by Carneades; the *Protrepticus*, which is known even to Crates, Zeno, and Teles (p. 60, n. 1), the *Eudemus* (p. 56, n. 2), which at any rate Cicero used; the discourses on Philosophy (p. 55, n. 6) and on Wealth (p. 58, n. 1 end), which, before him, Philodemus, and also Metrodorus, pupil of Epicurus, made use of; the *ἑρωτικὸς*, which, according to ATHEN. xv. 674, b, Aristo of Ceos knew; the dialogue Π. ποιητῶν (p. 58, n. 1), which Eratosthenes and Apollodorus seem to have used; the *Ὀλυμπιονίκαι*, which Eratosthenes (*apud* DIOG. viii. 51), quotes; the *Didascalics*, which Didymus quotes in the Scholiasts to Aristoph. *Av.* 1379 (cf. HEITZ, *Verl. Schr.* 56); the *Παρομύλαι*, on account of which Aristotle (according to ATHEN.

ii. 60, d) was attacked by Cephisodorus; in short (as has been shown at p. 48 sqq.), all the compositions given in the Catalogue of Diogenes, not to mention the spurious but much-used composition Π. *εὐγενείας* (p. 59, n. 2). The writings on ancient philosophers, among which is included our extant tract on Melissus, &c., are found *apud* DIOG. No. 92-101 (see p. 62, n. 2, *supra*).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 67, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 64, n. 1, 66, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 64 and 66; p. 141, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The same would follow from the statement (SIMPL. *Categ.*, *Schol.* 79, a, 1), that Andronicus followed pretty closely the *Categories* of Archytas, since the latter at any rate are imitations of the Aristotelian; Simplicius, however, bases what is here said merely on his false supposition of their genuineness.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 68, n. 1, and 71, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Of Theophrastus this is

his follower Strabo<sup>1</sup> had used them. The *Rhetoric* is imitated and referred to in writings which in all likelihood are themselves earlier than Andronicus;<sup>2</sup> and the same is true of the Theodectine *Rhetoric*.<sup>3</sup> The *Physics* were worked over by Theophrastus and Eudemus, and the latter followed the text so closely that he is actually cited in support of the correctness of a various reading.<sup>4</sup> One of the scholars of Eude-

clear from Alexander *In Top.* p. 5, m. (cf. 68, 72, 31), *In Metaph.* 342, 30, 373, 2 (705, b, 30, 719, b, 27). See SIMPL. *Categ. Schol. in Ar.* 89, a, 15.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ALEX. *Top.*, *infra* (*Schol.* 281, b, 2). Among Strabo's writings is found *apud* DIOG. v. 59, a *Τόπων προοίμια*.

<sup>2</sup> The former in the *Rhetoric ad Alex.* (*vide supra*, p. 74, n. 3), which Diogenes (No. 79) knows (cf. p. 72, n. 2) as well as *cur Rhetoric* (about which see p. 72, n. 2, *ad fin.*); the latter *apud* DEMETRIUS, *De Elocutione*; quotations from our *Rhetoric* are found here, c. 38, 41 (*Rhet.* iii. 8, 1409, a, 1); c. 11, 34 (*Rhet.* iii. 9, 1409, a, 35, b, 16); c. 81 (*Rhet.* iii. 11, *init.*); to it *ibid.* c. 34 refers, which is earlier than the author Archedemus, who was probably the Stoic of that name, *circa* 140 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Which (as shown at p. 72, n. 2) is likewise given in Diogenes, and is named by the *Rhetoric ad Alex.*

<sup>4</sup> We get these facts, apart from other proof, from the exceedingly numerous references to the *Physics* in Simplicius; for instance, about Theophrastus, cf. SIMPL. *Phys.* 141, a and b, and 187, a, 201, b, and the

same author *In Categ. Schol.* 92, b, 20sq., with THEMIST. *Phys.* 54, b, 55, a, b (*Schol.* 409, b, 8, 411, a, 6, b, 28), and BRANDIS, *Rhein. Mus.* i. 282 thereon; about Eudemus, SIMPL. *Phys.* 18, b (*Arist. Phys.* i. 2, 185, b, 11); also 29, a: *ὁ Εὐδήμος τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει πάντα κατακολουθῶν*; 120, b, where it is remarked on *Phys.* iii. 8, 208, b, 18: *κάλλιον γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸ "ἐξ τοῦ ἀστεως" οὕτως ἀκούειν, ὥς ὁ Εὐδήμος ἐνόησε τὰ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος, &c.*; so 121, b: *ἐν τισι δὲ [sc. ἀντιγράφοις] ἀντὶ τοῦ "κοιῆ" "πρώτη," καὶ οὕτω γράφει καὶ ὁ Εὐδήμος*; 128, b: *Εὐδήμος δὲ τοῦτο παρακολουθῶν, &c.*; 178, b: Eudemus writes, in *Phys.* iv. 13, 222, b, 18, not Πάρων but παρόν; 201, b: *Εὐδ. ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φυσικοῖς παραφράζων τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους*; 216, a: Eudemus immediately connects with what is found in Aristotle at the end of the fifth book, the beginning of the sixth; 223, a: in Aristotle an *ἐπὶ τὰδε* repeated in a different context (*Phys.* vi. 3, 234, a, 1) gives an ambiguity in expression, and so Eudemus puts "*ἐπέκεινα*" instead of the second *ἐπὶ τὰδε*; 242, a (beginning of the seventh book): *Εὐδ. μέχρι τοῦδε ὅλης σχεδὸν πραγματείας κεφαλαιοῖς ἀκολουθήσαι,*

mus<sup>1</sup> cited from the *Physics* of Aristotle the three books 'on Movement.' It can also be proved that the same work was known to Strabo,<sup>2</sup> and Posidonius the Stoic showed no less acquaintance with it.<sup>3</sup> The *De Caelo* cannot be shown with certainty to have been known to any writer older than Andronicus except Theophrastus.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, very unlikely that this work disappeared after his time when its continuation—the *Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς*—appears in the Catalogue of Diogenes,<sup>5</sup> and when the *Meteorology*, which is closely connected with both the one and the other, is known to have been used by many writers of that period.<sup>6</sup> Posidonius, for example, appropriated from it the theory of the elements,<sup>7</sup> and Strabo disputed its account of the heaviness and lightness of bodies.<sup>8</sup> The (spurious) *Mechanics*, and the *Astronomy*, are named in the list in Diogenes.<sup>9</sup> The *Natural History* was adapted not only by Theophrastus,<sup>10</sup> but also by the Alexandrine writer Aristophanes of Byzantium.<sup>11</sup> That it was not

τοῦτο παρελθὼν ὡς περιττὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ βιβλίῳ κεφάλαια μετῆλθε; 279, a: καὶ ὁ γε Εὐδ. παραφράζων σχεδὸν καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους τίθησι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ τμήματα συντόμως; 294, b: Aristotle shows that the first motor must be immovable—to which Eudemus adds: τὸ πρῶτον κινεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην κίνησιν. For further details see ch. xix. *infra*, and p. 136, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Damasus: *vide supra*, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SIMPL. *Phys.* 153, a (155, b), 154, b, 168, a, 187, a, sqq., 189, b (cf. *Phys.* iv. 10), 214, a.

<sup>3</sup> In the fragment *apud* SIMPL. *Phys.* 64, b: of which

Simplicius remarks that it is based on Aristotle (*Phys.* ii. 2).

<sup>4</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 83, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> That is, if No. 39, Π. στοιχείων α' β' γ', refers to it; about which see p. 50, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 83, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> SIMPL. *De Caelo*, Schol. in Ar. 517, a, 31.

<sup>8</sup> SIMPL. *ibid.* 486, a, 5.

<sup>9</sup> The former No. 123, the latter 113: *vide supra*, p. 86, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> DIOG. v. 49 names as his Ἐπιτομὴν Ἀριστοτέλους Π. Ζῴων σ'.

<sup>11</sup> According to HIEROCL. *Hippiatr. Pref.* p. 4, this grammarian had written an Ἐπιτομὴ of it, which ARTEMIDOR. *Oneirocrit.* ii. 14 calls ὑπομνήματα εἰς

unknown during the Alexandrine period is also shown by the Catalogue of Diogenes (No. 102), and by the existence of a popular compilation from it which was much in use.<sup>1</sup> The *De Anima* was used, after Theophrastus,<sup>2</sup> by the author of the book on the 'Movements of Living Creatures,' who used also the spurious treatise *Περὶ πνεύματος*.<sup>3</sup> As to the *Problems*,<sup>4</sup> it is more than improbable that the working up of that book by the Peripatetic School began later than the time of Andronicus. The *Metaphysics* was used, as we have seen,<sup>5</sup> not only by Theophrastus and Eudemus, but also by them by Strabo and other Peripatetics. It was probably published by Eudemus; though some sections of it do seem to have been first introduced by Andronicus into the then extant Aristotelian treatise on the First Philosophy. Of the *Ethics*, it is obvious that it could not have existed only in Theophrastus's MS. so as to be worked with it, for if so it could not have been worked over either by Eudemus or at a later date by the author of the *Magna Moralia*. The *Politics*, if we are to judge by the list of Diogenes, was to be found in the Library of Alexandria,<sup>6</sup> along with the first book of our *Economics*.

'Αριστοτέλην (see Schneider in his edition i. xix.). Demetrius also, *De Elocut.* 97, 157 (cf. *H. An.* ii. 1, 497, b, 28; ix. 2, 32, 610, a, 27, 619, a, 16), or perhaps the earlier writer used by him, knows this epitome.

<sup>1</sup> About which see p. 87, n. 1, *ad fin.* From this compilation also the many quotations from the Aristotelian *History of Animals* in Antigonus' *Mirabilia* (c. 16, 22, 27-113, 115) are perhaps taken.

For the present purpose it is of no importance whether the work is of immediate or immediate value for the use of Aristotle's works.

<sup>2</sup> Upon which see Theophrastus in *De An.* 89, b, 1. PHILOP. *De An.* C. 4. Cf. p. 100, n. 1, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 89, n. 2 *ad fin.*

<sup>4</sup> As to which cf. p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 79, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 100, n. 1, p. 100, n. 3.



which is also cited by Philodemus.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that the author of that book<sup>2</sup> had the *Politics* before him; that Dicæarchus knew it also is indicated by the notices of his *Tripoliticus*.<sup>3</sup> The use of it in the *Magna Moralia* is not so well proven,<sup>4</sup> and we cannot tell to what source Cicero owed the parts of it which he used for his own political works:<sup>5</sup> but it is not doubtful that it must have been accessible to learned persons after the death of Theophrastus. The same is true of the *Πολιτεῖαι*, for the use of which in the Alexandrine period we have abundant proofs.<sup>6</sup> That the *Poetics*

<sup>1</sup> *De Vit.* ix. (*Vol. Hero.* ii.) col. 7, 38, 47, col. 27, 15, where it is ascribed to Theophrastus.

<sup>2</sup> Whom we have rather to seek in Eudemus or one of his Peripatetic contemporaries than in Aristotle: see ch. xxi. *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> On which see *infra*, ch. xix. *ad fin.*

<sup>4</sup> Although happiness is here, i. 4, 1184, b, 33 sqq., defined as *ἐνέργεια καὶ χρῆσις τῆς ἀρετῆς*, this has certainly a greater resemblance to *Polit.* vii. 13, 1332, a, 7 (a passage to which NICKES, *De Arist. Polit. Libr.* 87 sq. calls attention) than to *Eth. N.* i. 6, x. 6, 7, *Eud.* ii. 1, since happiness is here certainly called *ἐνέργεια κατ' ἀρετὴν* (or *τῆς ἀρετῆς*), but the conjunction of the *ἐνέργεια* and *χρῆσις* is wanting. Then the *χρῆσις* is also spoken of in *Eud.* 1219, a, 12 sqq. 23, *Nic.* i. 9, 1098, b, 31, and thus it is quite possible that only these passages were in the mind of the author of the *Great Ethics*.

<sup>5</sup> ZELLER had already proved in his 2nd ed., that in Cicero's political writings many things are

taken from the Aristotelian *Politics*, citing *Cic. Leg.* iii. 6., *Rep.* i. 25 (cf. *Polit.* iii. 9, 1280, 6, 29, c, 6, 1278, b, 8, 19, i. 2, 1253, a, 2); *Rep.* i. 26 (*Pol.* iii. 1, 1274, b, 36, c. 6, 1278, b, 8, c. 7, 1279, a, 25 sqq.); *Rep.* i. 27 (*Pol.* iii. 9, 1280, a, 11, c. 10, 11, 1281, a, 28 sqq., b, 28, c. 16, 1287, a, 8 sqq.); *Rep.* i. 29 (*Pol.* iv. 8, 11). Susemihl (*Arist. Pol.* xliv. 81) also agrees with this. But since Cicero does not name Aristotle in the *Republic*, and *Leg.* iii. 6 only refers to him in very indefinite expressions, he seems not to have drawn immediately on Aristotle, and the question arises: where did he get this Aristotelian doctrine from? Susemihl, p. xlv, thinks, from Tyrannio, but we might also presume Dicæarchus, whom Cicero was fond of using.

<sup>6</sup> The oldest witness for this is Timæus, *apud* POLYB. xii. 5-11, and the latter author himself. There is also, besides Diog. (*Hermippus*) No. 145, the Scholiast of Aristophanes, who (according to a good Alexandrine authority)

was also known to the Alexandrine grammarians is placed beyond doubt by recent research.<sup>1</sup>

We may sum up the case by saying that of the genuine portions of the extant *Corpus*, there are only the works on the *Parts*, *Genesis*, and *Movement of Animals*, and the minor anthropological tracts, as to which we cannot show either express proof or high probability for the assertion that they were in use after the disappearance of Theophrastus's library from Athens. Even as to these we have no reason to doubt it—only we cannot positively prove it; and that, when we remember the fragmentary character of our knowledge of the philosophic literature of the period in question, is nothing strange. The belief of Strabo and Plutarch that the scientific writings of Aristotle were after the death of Theophrastus all but wholly withdrawn from access is therefore decisively negated by the facts. A few of these writings may possibly have suffered the fate which they ascribe to the whole. One book or another may have been lost to the School at Athens when they lost the library of Theophrastus, and may have been again published by Andronicus from the damaged MSS. of Sulla's collection. But that this happened to any or all of the important books is for all reasons antecedently improbable. There must have

quoted the *Πολιτεία* very often; see *Arist. Fr.* ed. Rose, Nos. 352, 355–358, 370, 373, 407, 420 sq., 426 sq., 470, 485, 498 sq., 525, 533.

<sup>1</sup> Their presence in the Alexandrian library is clear from the Catalogue of Diog. (No. 83), and their having been used by Ari-

stophanes of Byzantium and Didymus from the proofs which Susemihl has collected at p. 20 sq., of his edition (following Trendelenburg, *Grammat. Græc. de Arte Trag. Judic. Rel.*) from the Introductions and Scholia to Sophocles and Euripides.

been copies of the important text-books made during the long life of Theophrastus. He who cared so well for his scholars in every other way, by providing for them gardens and houses and a museum and the means of maintaining it, could never have deprived them of his most precious and most indispensable possession—his own and his master's texts—if a sufficient substitute for them were not at hand. Any theory, therefore, as to an individual book of our collection, that its text rests solely on a MS. from Apellico's library, ought to rest entirely on the internal evidence of the book itself; for Strabo's and Plutarch's suggestion of a general disappearance of the texts could give it no support.

It is not, however, to be denied that many of the books show signs leading to the conclusion that in their present form other hands than the author's have been at work. We find corruptions of the text, lacunæ in the logical movement, displacement of whole sections, additions that could be made only by later hands, other additions which are Aristotelian but were originally designed for some other context, repetitions which we should not expect in so condensed a style, and which yet can hardly be late interpolations.<sup>1</sup> Strabo's story, however, does not serve for the explanation of these phenomena, for the reason, among others, that such peculiarities are to be found equally in those texts

<sup>1</sup> Cf. with regard to this, not to mention other points, what has been said before as to the *Categories* (p. 64, n. 1), *Π. ἐμπνεύσεως* (p. 66, n. 1), the *Rhetoric* (p. 72, n. 2), the *Metaphysics* (p. 76, n. 3), the seventh book of the *Physics* (p. 81, n. 2 *ad fin.*), the fourth

book of the *Meteorology* (p. 83, n. 2), the tenth book of the *History of Animals* (p. 87, n. 1), *Π. ψυχῆς* (p. 89, n. 2), bk. v. *De Gen. An.* (p. 92, n. 2), the *Ethics* (p. 98, n. 1), and the *Poetics* (p. 102, n. 2); and the remarks in ch. xiii. *infra* upon the state of the *Politics*.

which we can prove to have been current before Apellico. We must explain them really as arising in part from the circumstances under which these treatises were written and issued,<sup>1</sup> in part from the way they were used for teaching purposes,<sup>2</sup> in part from the carelessness of transcribers and the many accidents to which each transcript was exposed.

If we pass to the discussion of the time and sequence in which the writings of Aristotle were produced, we must remember that this is of far less importance than in the case of the writings of Plato. It is clear that Aristotle commenced his career as a writer during his first residence at Athens,<sup>3</sup> and it is probable that he continued his literary activity in Atarneus, Mitylene and Macedonia. The extant writings, however, seem all to belong to the second Athenian period, although much preparation may probably have been made for them before. The proof of this lies partly in certain traces of the dates of their production, which control not only those books in which they occur, but also all that are later:<sup>4</sup> and partly in the common references

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 108 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> How easily, by this means, explanations and repetitions may find their way into the text, and greater or smaller sections may come to be repeated, is perfectly plain, and is proved on a large scale by the parallel case of the Eudemian *Physics* and *Ethics*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 56 sqq. He left Athens in B.C. 345-4 and returned in 336-4.

<sup>4</sup> Thus *Meteor.* i. 7, 345, a, 1, mentions a comet which was visible when Nicomachus (Ol. 109, 4, B.C. 341) was Archon in Athens, its

course and position being accurately described as from subsequent personal inquiry. The *Politics* refer to the Holy War as an event in the past (v. 4, 1304, a, 10), and to the expedition of Phalæcus to Crete, which took place at its conclusion about Ol. 108, 3 (Diodorus, xvi. 62), with a *νεωσσι* (ii. 10, *fin.*), but the same book refers to the assassination of Philip (B.C. 336) in v. 10, 1311, b, 1, without the least indication of its having been a very recent event. The *Rhetoric* in ii. 23,

which even the earliest of them contain to Athens and to the place itself where Aristotle taught.<sup>1</sup> If, then, the view already indicated<sup>2</sup> as to the destination of these texts for his scholars, their connection with his teaching, and the character of their cross references be right, it

1397, b, 31, 1399, b, 12, refers without doubt to past events of the years B.C. 338–336; in iii. 17, 1418, b, 27 it mentions Isocrates' Philippus (B.C. 345); of the *Rhetoric* also Brandis shows (*Philologus*, iv. 10 sqq.) that the many Attic orators quoted in it and in the *Poetics* who were younger than Demosthenes, could by no means belong to a time prior to Aristotle's first departure from Athens, and the same is true of the numerous works of Theodectes which are used both here and in the *Poetics*. In *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, a, 1, xii. 8, 1073, b, 17, 32, Eudoxus and the still younger Callippus, and in *Eth. N.* vii. 14, 1153, b, 5, x. 2, *init.*, Speusippus and Eudoxus are spoken of as if they were no longer living. Rose (*Arist. Libr. Ord.* 212 sqq.) has shown with regard to the *History of Animals*, from viii. 9, ii. 5, *init.*, and other passages, that it was only written (or at least completed), some time after the battle of Arbela, in which the Macedonians saw elephants for the first time, and probably not before the Indian expedition. The fact that even much earlier events are introduced with a *ῥῆν*—as in *Meteor.* iii. 1, 371, a, 30, the burning of the temple of Ephesus (Ol. 106, 1, B.C. 356), and in *Polit.* v. 10, 1312, b, 19, Dion's expedition (Ol. 105, 4 sq.)—proves nothing, by rea-

son of the indefiniteness of that particle. Just as little does it follow from *Anal. Pri.* ii. 24, that Thebes was not yet destroyed at that time; we might rather gather the contrary, with regard to this work, from *Polit.* iii. 5, 1278, a, 25.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BRANDIS, *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 116. We may give here a few further instances, besides those already noted. *Categ.* 4, 2, a, 1, c, 9 *fin.*: *ποῦ, οὐκ ἐν Ἀνκέρῳ*. *Anal. Pri.* ii. 24: Athens and Thebes, as examples of neighbours. Likewise in *Phys.* iii. 3, 202, b, 13; *ibid.* iv. 11, 219, b, 20: *τὸ ἐν Ἀνκέρῳ εἶναι*. *Metaph.* v. 5, 30, 1015, a, 25, 1025, a, 25: *τὸ πλεῖσαι εἰς Ἀθῆνας*, as an example of a commercial journey. *Ibid.* v. 24, *fin.*: the Athenian festivals Dionysia and Thargelia (Aristotle also uses the Attic months e.g. *Hist. An.* v. 11, &c.; but it is not fair to attach any importance to this). *Rhet.* ii. 7, 1385, a, 28: *ὁ ἐν Ἀνκέρῳ τὸν φορμὸν δοῦν*. *Ibid.* iii. 2, 1404, b, 22, *Polit.* vii. 17, 1336, b, 27: the actor Theodorus. Very frequent mention is also made of Athens and the Athenians (*Ind. Ar.* 12, b, 34 sqq.). Again the observation on the corona borealis (*Meteor.* ii. 5, 362, b, 9) suits the latitude of Athens, as Ideler (i. 567), on this passage, shows.

<sup>2</sup> P. 108 sqq.: especially p. 123 sq. and p. 128 sq.

follows that all of them *must* have been composed during his final sojourn in Athens. Equally decisive, on this head, is the observation that throughout the whole of so comprehensive a collection, there is hardly to be found a single notable alteration of teaching or terminology. All is ripe and ready. All is in exact correspondence. All the important writings are woven closely together, not only by express cross reference, but also by their whole character. There are no scattered products of the different periods of a life. We can only look upon them as the ordered execution of a work planned when the author, having come to a full understanding with himself, had gathered together the philosophic fruit of a lifetime. Even the earlier works which he proposed to connect with his later writing, he revised on a comprehensive plan. Therefore, for our use of these texts, it is no great matter whether a particular book was written sooner or later than any other. The problem, however, must be dealt with nevertheless.

A certain difficulty is caused by the use of cross references already noticed.<sup>1</sup> As such cases are, after all, only exceptions in the general run of the citations, the value of these as an indication of sequence is not so slight as has been supposed. There are, in fact, but few instances in which our judgment as to the order of the writings is placed in doubt by the occurrence of references both ways.

Of the extant books, so far as they are open to this classification,<sup>2</sup> the logical treatises, excepting the tract on

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 124 sqq.

opposed on other grounds. Not

<sup>2</sup> This, however, is always the case except with writings the genuineness of which can be

only are none of these quoted in the genuine works, and only a single one in a spurious compo-

Propositions,<sup>1</sup> may be considered to come first. It is in itself natural and accords with Aristotle's methodical plan of exposition, that he should preface the material development of his system by the formal inquiries which were designed to establish the rules and conditions of all scientific thinking. But it is also made evident by his own citations that the *Logic* did precede the *Natural Philosophy*, the *Metaphysics*, the *Ethics* and *Rhetoric*.<sup>2</sup> Of the logical tracts themselves, the *Categories* seems to be the first. The *Topics*, including the book on *Fallacies*, came next, and then the two *Analytics*: the treatise

sition, but only very few of them refer to other writings. On the other hand, there is not one among the works which we consider as genuine, which does not quote the others, or is not quoted by them, or, at least, implied, whilst in most of them examples of all three connections occur. To explain more fully: I. Of the decidedly *spurious* works: (a) the following are neither quoted nor do they quote others: Π. κόσμου, Π. χρωμάτων, Π. ακουστών, Φυσιогνωμονικά, Π. φυτών (see p. 93), Π. θαυμασίων ακουσμάτων, Μηχανικά, Π. ατόμων γραμμών, Ἀνέμων θέσεις, Π. Ξενοφάνους &c., Ἠθικά μεγάλα, Π. ἀρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν, Οἰκονομικά, Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. (b) Π. πνεύματος quotes no other, but is quoted in the spurious treatise Π. ζῶων κινήσεως. (c) On the contrary, the latter itself is never quoted. But it names some other writings; as does also the *Eudemian Ethics*, supposing that its quotations refer to Aristotelian works. II. Among the remaining

writings, the *Categories* is the only work which quotes no other, and neither is it directly quoted (but cf. p. 64). The Π. ἐμπνεύσεως. Π. τ. καθ' ὅσον μαντικῆς and the *Rhetoric* quote others, but are not quoted; Π. ζῶων γενέσεως has many quotations, but is only once cited, as a book planned for the future; of the *Metaphysics* only bk. v. is quoted or used (cf. pp. 76, n.3, and 79, n.1) in genuine works, bks. i., xii., and xiii. in spurious ones: and the *Metaph.* itself quotes the *Analytics*, the *Physics*, *De Caelo*, and the *Ethics*.

<sup>1</sup> On which see p. 66, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the arguments given on p. 67, n. 1, p. 68, n. 1, we have the decisive passage in *Anal. Post.* ii. 12, 95, b, 10: μᾶλλον δὲ φανερώς ἐν τοῖς καθόλου περὶ κινήσεως δεῖ λεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν. The *Physics*, however, is the earliest of the works on Natural Science. A negative line of proof also is found in the fact that in the *Categories*, the *Analytics*, and the *Topics*, none of the other writings are quoted.

on Propositions was added afterwards.<sup>1</sup> Later than the *Analytics* but earlier than the *Physics* may be placed the treatise which now forms the fifth book of the *Metaphysics*.<sup>2</sup> The Natural Philosophy came next. In that section the *Physics* comes first. It is projected in the *Analytics* and is referred to in the fifth book of the *Metaphysics*; but the latter is cited or presupposed not only in the metaphysical and ethical works but also in the majority of the other tracts concerning Natural Philosophy, while it on the other hand neither cites nor presupposes any one of them.<sup>3</sup> That the *De Cælo*,<sup>4</sup> the treatise on *Growth and Decay*, and the *Meteorology*, follow the *Physics* in the order given, is very expressly stated in the *Meteorology* itself.<sup>5</sup> Whether the *Natural History* or the *De Anima* came next is not settled. It is very possible that the former work, extensive as it is, was begun before the other but completed after it.<sup>6</sup> With the *De Anima* we must connect those lesser tracts which point back to it some-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 64, n. 1, p. 67, n. 1, p. 68 sq., and the treatise of Brandis quoted in the first-cited note, which (p. 256 sqq.), by a comparison of the *Analytics* with the *Topics*, establishes the earlier date of the latter.

<sup>2</sup> For, on the one hand, it is mentioned in the *Physics* and *De Gen. et Corr.* (*vide supra*, p. 76, n. 1, p. 124, n. 4); and, on the other, it seems in c. 30 *fin.* to refer to *Anal. Post.* i. 6, 75, a, 18 sqq., 28 sqq.; though the latter point is not certain.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 81 sqq., *Ind. Arist.* 102, a, 53 sqq., 98, a, 27 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Which we cannot, like Blass (*Rhein. Mus.* xxx. 498, 505), consider a 'hypomnemati-cal' writing, not merely because of the references made to it, but on other grounds also.

<sup>5</sup> *Meteor.* i. 1, whereon cf. further p. 83, n. 1, *Ind. Arist.* 98, a, 44 sqq., and the quotation of the tract II. ζῶον ποτελας in the *De Cælo*, ii. 2, given p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> That the completion of the *History of Animals* should not be put too early is clear from what has been said on p. 154, n. 4.



times expressly<sup>1</sup> and always by the nature of their contents. Some of these were no doubt composed after or with the writings on the *Parts*, the *Movement*, and the *Genesis of Animals*.<sup>2</sup> That group of tracts is undoubtedly later than the *Natural History*, the *De Anima*, and the treatises which followed upon it.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it is probably earlier than the *Ethics* and *Politics*, inasmuch as it can hardly be supposed that Aristotle would have broken in upon his studies in Natural Philosophy by undertaking extended works lying in a wholly different direction.<sup>4</sup> It would be less difficult to suppose that the ethical writings as a whole came before the physical.<sup>5</sup> This view is not excluded by any express internal references, excepting the reference to the *Physics* in the *Ethics*.<sup>6</sup> We must, nevertheless, decide in favour of the earlier construction of the Natural Philosophy texts, for a thinker who was so clearly convinced as Aristotle was that the student of ethics must have a knowledge of the human soul,<sup>7</sup> must be supposed to have put his inquiry into the soul before his researches into the moral activities and relations. There are, indeed, in the *Ethics* very unmistakable traces of his theory of the soul and of the treatise thereon.<sup>8</sup> Immediately after the *Ethics*

<sup>1</sup> Thus Π. αἰσθήσεως, Π. θνόν, Π. ἐννοίων, Π. ἀναρροῆς (*Ind. Ar.* 102, b, 60 sqq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 89 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 89, n. 2, 89, n. 3, 87, n. 1: *Ind. Arist.* 99, b, 30 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The further question of the relative order of the three writings named has been already discussed on p. 91 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Thus ROSE, *Arist. Libr. Ord.* 122 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> *Eth.* x. 3, 1171, b, 2. Cf. *Phys.* vi.-viii.

<sup>7</sup> *Eth.* i. 13, 1102, a, 23.

<sup>8</sup> Though Aristotle in *Eth.* i. 13, 1102, a, 26 sqq. refers, not to *De An.* iii. 9, 432, a, 22 sqq. ii. 3, but to the *ἐκτετακτοὶ λόγοι*, yet ii. 2 *init.* seems to presuppose

comes the *Politics*.<sup>1</sup> Judging by the internal references, the *Rhetoric* should be later than both, and the *Poetics* should be later than the *Politics* but before the *Rhetoric*. This, however, is probably true only of a part of the *Politics*—or rather only of those parts which Aristotle himself published, for his death seems to have intervened before he had completed that text as a whole.<sup>2</sup> So, again, in our so-called *Metaphysics*, we have in all probability a work which Aristotle left incomplete, and with which several other fragments, some genuine, some spurious, have been amalgamated since.<sup>3</sup>

the bulk of the theoretical writings. But that there are not many more of such traces may perhaps be explained by the fact that Aristotle did not wish to interfere with the practical aim of an ethical work (*Eth.* i. 1, 1095, a, 4, ii. 2, *init.*) by any discussions which were not indispensable to its purpose; cf. i. 13, 1102, a, 23.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 100, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 127 *supra*, and *infra*, ch. xiii. And if this supposition is correct, it would also go to make it improbable that the *Ethics*, so closely allied with the *Politics*, should have been written before the works on natural science.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 76 sqq., and with regard to citations of the *Metaphysics*, see p. 156, n. 2. Rose's supposition (*Arist. Libr. Ord.* 135 sqq. 186 sq.) that the *Metaphysics* preceded all the writings on natural science, or at any rate the zoological ones, makes the actual condition of that work an inexplicable puzzle. But there is also the fact that the *Physics*, as well as the *De Caelo*, are quoted in numerous passages of the *Metaphysics* (*Ind. Ar.* 101, a, 7 sqq.) as already existing, while the *Metaphysics* are referred to in *Phys.* i. 9, 192, a, 35, as merely in the future.

## CHAPTER IV

THE STANDPOINT, METHOD, AND DIVISIONS OF THE  
PHILOSOPHY OF ARISTOTLE

As Plato connects directly with Socrates, so Aristotle with Plato. Yet he made a comprehensive use of the earlier philosophies as well. He was better versed than any of the earlier teachers in the theories and writings of his forerunners, and it is with him a favourite method to preface his own inquiries with a retrospect of earlier opinions. He is wont to let them designate the problems to be dealt with. He is eager to refute their errors, to resolve their doubts, to bring out the truth which underlay their views. But the influence of the pre-Socratic systems upon Aristotle is far less apparent in the general structure of his system than it is in the treatment of special points. In principle, Plato had refuted them all. Aristotle is not under the same necessity to distinguish his position accurately from theirs.<sup>1</sup> He does not, at least in any of the extant writings, devote any space to such propaedeutic efforts as those by which Plato established the claims of philosophy and the true meaning of know-

<sup>1</sup> Even in *Metaph.* i. 8 their principles are merely criticised briefly from an Aristotelian point of view, and the Eleatics and Heraclitus, about whom Plato busied himself so much, are passed over altogether.

ledge, as against 'the ordinary consciousness' on the one hand, and the Sophists on the other. Aristotle presupposes throughout that general point of view which characterised the Socratico-Platonic Philosophy of Ideas. His task is to work out, on these general lines, a more perfect system of knowledge, by a more exact definition of the leading principles, by a stricter accuracy of method, and by an extension and improvement of all the scientific data? It is true that in his own writings the rare expressions of agreement with his teacher are almost lost sight of by comparison with his keen and constant polemic against Platonic views.<sup>1</sup> Yet in reality and in the whole his agreement with Plato is far greater than his divergence,<sup>2</sup> and his whole system cannot truly be understood until we treat it as a development and evolution of that of Plato and as the completion of that very Philosophy of Ideas which Socrates founded and Plato carried on.

In the first place, he agrees for the most part with Plato in his general views as to the meaning and office of Philosophy itself. To him, as to Plato, the *object* of

<sup>1</sup> We shall deal later on with this polemic, especially as it was directed against the doctrine of Ideas in *Metaph.* i. 9, xiii., xiv. &c. Only a few passages are found in which Aristotle expressly declares his agreement with Plato. Besides the passages noted on p. 12, and p. 14, n. 4, see *Eth. N.* i. 2, 1095, a, 32; ii. 2, 1104, b, 11; *De An.* iii. 4, 429, a, 27; *Polit.* ii. 6, 1265, a, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the valuable remarks of STRÜMPPELL, *Gesch. d. theor. Phil. d. Gr.* 177. Ari-

stotle, as we have shown on p. 14, n. 3, not unfrequently includes himself in the first person along with the rest of the Platonic school. But his way of treating such a relation is the opposite to that of Plato. Whilst Plato puts his own view, even where it contradicts the original one of Socrates, into the mouth of his teacher, Aristotle not unfrequently attacks his teacher even where they agree in the main point, and only differ in opinion as to secondary matters.

Philosophy can be only Being as such,<sup>1</sup> i.e. Essence, or, to speak more accurately, the universal Essence of that which is actual.<sup>2</sup> Philosophy treats solely of the causes and basis of things,<sup>3</sup> and in fact of their highest and most universal basis, or, in the last resort, of that which presupposes nothing.<sup>4</sup> For the like reasons he ascribes to the philosopher in a certain sense a knowledge of everything, thinking, of course, of the point of unity where all knowledge converges.<sup>5</sup> As Plato had distinguished 'knowledge,' as the cognition of that which is Eternal and Necessary,

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 19, 100, a, 6: ἐκ δ' ἐμπειρίας . . . τέχνης ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἐὰν μὲν περὶ γένεσιν, τέχνης, ἐὰν δὲ περὶ τὸ ὄν, ἐπιστήμης. *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, b, 15: τῷ ὄντι ἢ ὅν ἐστι τινὰ ἴδια, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ὅν τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐπισκέψασθαι τάληθές. *Ibid.* 1005, a, 2, c. 3, 1005, b, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 2, 996, b, 14 sqq.: τὸ εἰδέναι ἕκαστον . . . τότε οἰόμεθα ὑπάρχειν, ὅταν εἰδῶμεν τί ἐστίν, &c.; vii. 1, 1028, a, 36: εἰδέναι τότε οἰόμεθα ἕκαστον μάλιστα, ὅταν τί ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος γινώμεν ἢ τὸ πῦρ, μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ποῦν ἢ τὸ ποσὺν ἢ τὸ ποῦ, &c.; c. 6, 1031, b, 20: τὸ ἐπίστασθαι ἕκαστον τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι ἐπίστασθαι, and cf. l. 6; *ibid.* xiii. 9, 1086, b, 5: the determination of the notion of the thing is indispensable, ἄνευ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ καθόλου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν; c. 10, 1086, b, 33: ἡ ἐπιστήμη τῶν καθόλου; iii. 6 *fin.*: καθόλου αἱ ἐπιστήμαι πάντων; iii. 4, 999, b, 26: τὸ ἐπίστασθαι πῶς ἔσται, εἰ μή τι ἔσται ἐν ἐπὶ πάντων; *ibid.* a, 28, b, 1; xi. 1, 1059, b, 25. *Anal. Post.* i. 11

*init.*, ii. 19, 100, a, 6, i. 24, 85, b, 13; and *Eth. N.* vi. 6 *init.*, x. 10, 1180, b, 15. More *infra*, in chapter v.

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 2 *init.*: ἐπιστασθαι δὲ οἰόμεθ' ἕκαστον . . . ὅταν τὴν τ' αἰτίαν οἰόμεθα γινώσκειν δι' ἣν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστίν . . . καὶ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι τοῦτ' ἄλλως ἔχειν. *Ibid.* c. 14, 79, a, 23, ii. 11 *init.* *Eth. N.* vi. 7, 1141, a, 17. *Metaph.* i. 1, 981, a, 28, 982, a, 1, c. 2, 982, a, 12, 982, b, 2 sqq., vi. 1, *init.* Cf. SCHWEGLER, *Arist. Metaph.* iii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Phys.* i. 1, 184, a, 12: τότε γὰρ οἰόμεθα γινώσκειν ἕκαστον, ὅταν τὰ αἰτία γνωρίσωμεν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς πρῶτας καὶ μέχρι τῶν στοιχείων. *Ibid.* ii. 3 *init.* *Metaph.* i. 2, 982, b, 9: δεῖ γὰρ ταύτην [that science which is to deserve the name σοφία] τῶν πρῶτων ἀρχῶν καὶ αἰτιῶν εἶναι θεωρητικὴν; c. 3 *init.*: τότε γὰρ εἰδέναι φαμέν ἕκαστον, ὅταν τὴν πρῶτην αἰτίαν οἰόμεθα γνωρίσκειν; iii. 2, 996, b, 13, iv. 2, 1003, b, 16, iv. 3, 1005, b, 5 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* i. 2, 982, a, 8, 21, iv. 2, 1004, a, 35.

from Fancy or 'Opinion,' whose sphere is the contingent, so also Aristotle. To him, as to Plato, knowledge arises out of wonder, out of the bewilderment of the common consciousness with itself.<sup>1</sup> To him, its object is exclusively that which is universal and necessary; for the contingent cannot be *known*, but only *opined*. It is an opinion, when we believe that a thing might be otherwise; it is knowledge, when we recognise the impossibility of its being otherwise. So far from 'Opinion' and 'Knowledge' being all the same, it is rather true, as Aristotle holds, that it is utterly impossible to know and to opine about the same subject at the same time.<sup>2</sup> So, again, 'Knowledge' cannot consist in Perception, for that tells us only of individual things, not of the universal, only of facts, not of causes.<sup>3</sup> In like manner Aristotle distinguishes 'Knowledge' from mere 'Experience' by the test that the latter gives us in any matter only a '*That*,' while the former gives us a '*Why*' also:<sup>4</sup> which is the very mark that Plato used to distinguish 'Knowledge' from 'True Opinion.'

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* i. 2, 982, b, 12: διὰ γὰρ τὸ θαυμάζειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο φιλοσοφεῖν, &c. *Ibid.* 983, a, 12. Cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.*, pt. ii. div. 1, p. 511, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 33; cf. *ibid.* c. 6 *fin.* c. 8, *init.* c. 30 sqq. *Metaph.* vii. 15, vi. 2, 1026, b, 2 sqq. *Eth. N.* vi. 3, 1139, b, 18, c. 6 *init.* To this line of thought belongs the refutation of the principle, that for everyone that is true which seems true to him, which is dealt with in *Metaph.* iv. 5, 6, much as it is treated in Plato's *Theaetetus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 31: οὐδὲ δὲ

αἰσθήσεως ἔστιν ἐπιστάσθαι. For perception has always to do with individuals (more on this subject *infra*). τὸ δὲ καθόλου καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἀδύνατον αἰσθάνεσθαι, &c. Even though we could see that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, or that in an eclipse of the moon the earth stands between the sun and the moon, yet this would be no knowledge, so long as the universal reasons of these phenomena remained unknown to us.

<sup>4</sup> *Metaph.* i. 1, 981, a, 28.

Finally, Aristotle is at one with Plato when in both cases both of them proclaim Philosophy to be the mistress of all other sciences, and Science in general to be the highest and best that man can reach, and the most essential element of his happiness.

Nevertheless, it is also true that the Aristotelian notion of Philosophy does not completely coincide with the Platonic. To Plato, Philosophy, regarded as to its content, is a term which includes all spiritual and moral perfection, and it comprehends therefore the practical as well as the theoretic side; and yet when regarded as to its essence, he distinguishes it very sharply from every other form of human activity. Aristotle, on the contrary, marks it off more strictly from the practical side of life; while, on the other

<sup>1</sup> See *Metaph.* i. 2, 982, b, 4: ἀρχικωτάτη δὲ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀρχικὴ τῆς υπηρετούσης, ἢ γνωρίζουσα τίνας ἐκείνῃ ἐστι πρακτέον ἕκαστον· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὰ γὰθον ἐν ἑκάστοις. But that science is one which investigates the highest reasons and causes, since 'the good' and 'the highest end' are included among these. *Ibid.* i. 24: δῆλον οὖν, ὡς δι' οὐδεμίαν αὐτὴν ζητοῦμεν χρεῖαν ἐτέραν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπός φαμεν ἐλεύθερος ὁ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ ἄλλου ὄν, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη μόνῃ ἐλευθέρα οὖσα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν· μόνῃ γὰρ αὕτῃ αὐτῆς ἕνεκῆν ἐστίν· διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἀνὸς ἀνθρωπίνῃ νομίζουσι αὐτῆς ἢ κτήσις . . . ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ δέον φθονερὸν ἐνδέχεται εἶναι, . . . οὔτε τῆς τοιαύτης ἄλλῃν χρὴ νομίζειν τιμωτέραν· ἢ γὰρ θεωτάτῃ καὶ τιμωτάτῃ . . . ἀναγκαίωτερά μὲν οὖν πᾶσαι ταύτης,

ἀρείων δ' αὐτῆς· *ibid.* i. 1072 b, 24: ἡ θεωρία τὸ ἕλκιστον καὶ ἁριστον. In *Eth. N. E.* i. 7: ἀρετὴ αὐτῆς is the most essential perfection of perfect happiness: cf. e.g. 1117. b. 30: εἰ δὲ θεῶν ὁ νοῦς πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὁ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον βίος θεῶν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον βίον· οὗ χρὴ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παρενοῦντας ἀνθρώπους φρονεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα οὐδὲ θνητὸν τὸν θνητὸν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀπαυτοῖσεν καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸ (ᾧ) κατὰ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ . . . τὸ εὐκταῖον ἑκάστῃ τῇ φύσει κρᾶτιστον καὶ ἡδιστόν ἐστιν ἑκάστῃ· καὶ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὸν νοῦν βίος, εἴπερ τοῦτο μέγιστα ἄνθρωπος· οὗτος ἄρα καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατος; c. 8, 1178, b, 28: ἐφ' ὅσον δὲ διατείνει ἡ θεωρία, καὶ ἡ εὐδαιμονία. Cf. c. 9, 1179, a, 22, *Eth. End.* vii. 15 *fin.* See further in chapter xii., *infra*.

hand, he brings it into a closer relation with the experimental sciences. His view is that Philosophy is exclusively an affair of the theoretic faculty. He distinguishes from it very sharply the practical activities (*πραξις*), which have their end in that which they produce (not, like Philosophy, in the activity itself), and which belong not purely to thought but also to opinion and the 'unreasoning part of the soul.' He distinguishes also the artistic creative effort (*ποίησις*) which is likewise directed to something outside itself.<sup>1</sup> With Experience, on the other hand, he connects Philosophy more closely. Plato had banished all dealings with the sphere of change and becoming out of the realm of 'Knowledge' into that of 'Opinion.' Even as to the passage from the former to the latter, he had only the negative doctrine that the contradictions of opinion and fancy ought to lead us to go further and to pass to the pure treatment of Ideas. Aristotle, as we shall presently see, allows to Experience a more positive relation to Thought. The latter, with him, proceeds out of the former by an affirmative movement—that, namely, in which the data given in Experience are brought together into a unity.

Furthermore, we find that Plato was but little interested in the descent from the treatment of the Idea to the individual things of the world of appearance—the phenomena. To him, the pure Ideas are the one

<sup>1</sup> Besides the passage just given, see *Eth. N.* vi. 2, c. 5, 1140, a, 28, b, 25; x. 8, 1178, b, 20; vi. 1, 1025, b, 18 sqq.; xi. 7; *De An.* iii. 10, 433, a, 14; and *De Caelo*, iii. 7, 306, a, 16. The same is repeated by Eudemus *Eth.* i. 5 *fin.*, and by the author of *Metaph.* ii. 1, 993, b, 20.



essential object of philosophic knowledge. Aristotle concedes that scientific knowledge has to do only with the universal essence of things; yet he does not stop at that point, for he regards it as the peculiar task of Philosophy to deduce the Individual from the Universal (as in *ἀπόδειξις*, *vide infra*). Science has to begin with the Universal, the Indeterminate; but it must pass on to the Determinate.<sup>1</sup> It has to explain the data, the phenomena.<sup>2</sup> It must not, therefore, think little of anything, however insignificant, for even there inexhaustible treasures of possible knowledge must lie.<sup>3</sup> It is for a like reason that Aristotle makes for scientific thought itself rules less strict than Plato's. He takes

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* xiii. 10, 1087, a, 10: συμβεβηκότα συμβάλλεται μέγα μέρος πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι τὸ τί ἐστίν· πᾶσαν . . . ἔχει μὲν μάλιστ' ἀπορίαν τῶν λεχθέντων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ὡς ἀληθές τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔστι δ' ὡς οὐκ ἀληθές· ἡ γὰρ ἐπιστήμη, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι, διττὸν, ὃν τὸ μὲν δυνάμει τὸ δὲ ἐνέργεια· ἡ μὲν οὖν δύναμις ὡς ὅλη [τοῦ] καθόλου οὐσα καὶ ἀόριστος τοῦ καθόλου καὶ ἀορίστου ἐστίν, ἡ δ' ἐνέργεια ὁρισμένη καὶ ὁρισμένου τότε τι οὐσα τοῦδέ τινος.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 992, a, 24 (attacking the doctrine of Ideas): ὅλως δὲ ζητούσης τῆς σοφίας περὶ τῶν φανερῶν τὸ αἴτιον, τοῦτο μὲν εἰδόμενον (οὐδὲν γὰρ λέγομεν περὶ τῆς αἰτίας ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς μεταβολῆς) &c. *De Caelo*, iii. 7, 306, a, 16: τέλος δὲ τῆς μὲν ποιητικῆς ἐπιστήμης τὸ ἔργον, τῆς δὲ φυσικῆς τὸ φαινόμενον αἰεὶ κυρῶς κατὰ τὴν αἰσθησίν. *De An.* i. 1, 402, a, 16: ἔοικε δ' οὐ μόνον τὸ τί ἐστίν γινῶναι χρῆσιν εἶναι πρὸς τὸ θεωρῆσαι τὰς αἰτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τὰς οὐσίας . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάπαλιν τὰ

συμβεβηκότα συμβάλλεται μέγα μέρος πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι τὸ τί ἐστίν· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἔχωμεν ἀποδιδόναι κατὰ τὴν φαντασίαν περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἢ πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων, τότε καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἔχομεν λέγειν κάλλιστα· πάσης γὰρ ἀποδείξεως ἀρχὴ τὸ τί ἐστίν, ὥστε καθ' ὅσους τῶν ὁρισμῶν μὴ συμβαίνει τὰ συμβεβηκότα γνωρίζειν . . . δῆλον ὅτι διαλεκτικῶς εἰρηγται καὶ κενῶς ἅπαντες Cf. c. 6, 409, b, 11 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Part. An.* i. 5, 645, a, 5: λοιπὸν περὶ τῆς ζωικῆς φύσεως εἰπεῖν, μηδὲν παραλείποντας εἰς δύναμιν μῆτε ἀτιμότερον μῆτε τιμώτερον· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μὴ κεχαρισμένοις αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν αἰσθησίν κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ὅμως ἡ δημιουργήσασα φύσις ἀμειψάνους ἡδονὰς παρέχει τοῖς δυναμένοις τὰς αἰτίας γνωρίζειν καὶ φύσει φιλοσόφους . . . διὸ δεῖ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν παιδικῶς τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀτιμωτέρων ζῴων ἐπισκεψίν· ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἔνεστί τι θαυμαστόν, &c. *De Caelo*, ii. 12, 291, b, 25.

the content of 'Knowledge,' and of scientific ] include not only the Necessary, but also the U *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ*).<sup>1</sup> He deems it a sign of phi crudity that a man should demand the same strictness of all kinds of investigation,<sup>2</sup> when it depends on the nature of the subject matt amount of exactitude can be attained in each sciences.<sup>3</sup> Where coercive proof fails him, he is

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 30, iii. 12 *fin.* *Part. An.* iii. 2, 663, b, 27. *Metaph.* vi. 2, 1027, a, 20, xi. 8, 1064, b, sqq. *Eth. N.* i. 1, 1094, b, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth. N.* i. 1, 1094, b, 11-27, c. 7, 1098, a, 26, ii. 2, 1104, a, 1, vii. 1 *fin.* ix. 1, 1165, a, 12 (*Polit.* vii. 1 *fin.* is not in point here). It is chiefly as regards the ethical discussions that Aristotle here denies the claim they have to a thorough accuracy, because the nature of the subject does not allow of any such result; for in judging of men and the issues of human action, much rests on estimates which are correct only 'in the main' and 'as a rule.'

<sup>3</sup> According to *Anal. Post.* i. 27, that science is more exact (*ἀκριβεστέρα*), which besides the *θεορία* settles the *διδάσκειν*; that which has to deal with purely scientific questions, not with their application to some given case (*ἢ μὴ καθ' ὑποκειμένου* [*ἀκριβεστέρα*] *τῆς καθ' ὑποκειμένου, οὐκ ἀριθμητικῆς ἀρμο- νικῆς*), and lastly that which deduces its results from a smaller number of assumptions (e.g. Arithmetic as compared with Geometry), or in other words the more abstract (*ἢ ἐξ ἐλαττόνων τῆς ἐκ προσθέσεως*, as is also said in *Metaph.* i. 2, 982, a, 26, the same

example being adduced the latter is thus expressed xiii. 3, 1078, a, 9): *ὅσῳ προτέρων τῷ λόγῳ* (the according to its notion, is earlier, or stands to the first principles 330 sqq.) *καὶ ἀπλουστερ οὕτω μᾶλλον ἔχει τὰκριβέστερα* this it naturally follows, first philosophy, according to Aristotle, is capable of the greatest accuracy (cf. *Δ.* 2, 982, a, 25: *ἀκριβεστάτη ἐπιστημῶν αἱ μάλιστα τῷ εἶσι*), and that every other science is capable of so much according as it descends and more to the world of things (cf. *ibid.* 1078, a, for in the latter *πολλὴ ἡ ἐπιστήμη φύσιν ἐνυπάρχει* (*Metaph.* 5, 1010, a, 3; further i. ch. vii. sec. 2). Therefore the natural sciences are necessarily less accurate than those which are concerned with what is constant (of which *De An.* i. 1 *ἵνα* the *ἀκρίβεια*); and those which have the transient as their object are less exact than Astronomy (*Metaph.* 1078, a, 11 sqq.). (*Erkenntnistheorie d. A.* 1 says, that in the scale of

to put up with arguments possible and probable, and to postpone a more definite decision until a further analysis can be had.<sup>1</sup> It is not, however, the essential problems of philosophy which Aristotle so treats, but always special questions of ethics or natural philosophy, for which Plato himself had relaxed the strictness of his dialectical procedure, and put probability in the place of scientific proof. The real difference between them is only this, that Aristotle includes this kindred branch of knowledge in Philosophy; whereas Plato insists on treating everything except the pure Science of Ideas as merely matter of intellectual discourse, or as a condescension of the philosopher to the pressure of practical needs.<sup>2</sup> Why, asks Aristotle rightly, should the man who thirsts after knowledge not seek to learn at least a little, even where he cannot establish all?<sup>3</sup>

Aristotle cannot be justly accused of having compromised the unity of all spiritual effort by dividing

the science of nature takes the lowest place: but this would rather, as has been said in the preceding note, be true of Ethics and Politics.

<sup>1</sup> *De Cælo*, ii. 5, 287, b, 28 sqq. c. 12 *init.* *Gen. An.* iii. 10, 760, b, 27, where to a discussion on the reproduction of bees he adds the remark: *οὐ μὴν ἐληγχαί γε τὰ συμβαίοντα ἱκανῶς, ἀλλ' ἐάν ποτε ληθῇ, τότε τῇ αἰσθήσει μᾶλλον τῶν λόγων πιστευτέον, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐὰν ὁμολογούμενα δεικνύωσι τοῖς φαινόμενοις.* *H. An.* ix. 37 *fin.* c. 42, 629, a, 22, 27. *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1073, b, 10 sqq. 1074, a, 15. *Meteor.* i. 79, *init.*: *περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν τῇ αἰσθήσει νομίζομεν ἱκανῶς ἀποδεδεῖχθαι κατὰ*

*τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ἀναγῶμεν.* Cf. EUCKEN, *Meth. d. Arist. Forsch.* 125 sq. See further on this subject in the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Rep.* vi. 511, B, sq. vii. 519, C, sqq.; *Pl.* 173, E; *Tim.* 29, B, sq. and *alib.* Cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.*, Pt. i pp. 490, 516, 536 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *De Cælo*, ii. 12 *init.*: *πειρατέον λέγειν τὸ φαινόμενον, αἰδοῦς ἄξιαν εἶναι νομίζοντας τῇ προθυμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ θράσους* (it does not occur to him that he himself might be accused rather of an unphilosophical modesty), *εἴ τις διὰ τὸ φιλοσοφίας διψῇ καὶ μικρὰς εὐτορίας ἀγαπᾷ περὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἔχουσαν ἀπορίας.* Cf. *ibid.* 292, a, 14, c. 5, 287, b, 31 *Part. An.* i. 5, 644, b, 31.

also notice that in Aristotle the empirical effort is still too often crossed by the speculative and dialectic methods which he took over directly from Platonism. Indeed, so far as natural science goes, it would be more just to charge him with too little empiricism than too much.<sup>1</sup> But it would be far truer to say simply that he carried both methods as far as could be expected of his day. The science of the Greeks began with speculation. The empirical sciences only attained to any sort of development at a late date, and largely by the efforts of Aristotle himself. Therefore it was natural that the dialectical method of Socrates and Plato, with its logical dissections and connections of ideas, guided by current opinions and the indications of language, should take precedence of any strict empirical rules. Aristotle stood in a close relation to the dialectical movement, and brought it in theory and practice, as we have just said, to completion. It was not to be expected that the art of empirical investigation should find in him an equally complete exponent, and therefore an accurate discrimination between the two methods was as yet far off. That could only come after the fuller development of the empirical sciences and the direct investigation of the theory of knowledge, which the modern centuries have brought to pass. All the greater is the credit due to Aristotle that his wide and direct scientific instinct led him even so soon to turn to the methods of

<sup>1</sup> This charge has been made by Bacon, and, since the above was first written, by Lewes (*Aristotle*, § 91, 97); and, through a one-sidedness not uncommon with him, by LANGE, *Gesch. d. Mater.* i. 61 sqq.

observation and to connect them as well as he then could with the dialectical treatment of ideas.<sup>1</sup>

That Aristotle's dialectic had to do with a far more extensive range of empirical data than Plato had to deal with is the reason why Aristotle's methods of exposition are distinguishable at a glance from Plato's by that air of formal logic which they wear. Aristotle does not limit himself to that unfolding of pure ideas which Plato expected of the philosopher,<sup>2</sup> though his own attempts at it were in truth but rare and partial. The ideal processes are for ever interrupted, in Aristotle, by references to experience, by examinations of ambiguous terms, by criticism of other views. The more extensive is the matter which he has to bring under the yoke of science, the more eager is he to see that every step in his far-reaching investigations should be assured on the one hand by a copious induction, and on the other by a careful observance of the rules of logic. His manner of presenting his work seems often dry and tedious as compared with Plato's; for the texts we now possess yield us but rare examples of that richness and charm for which his writings were praised no less than his master's. We miss wholly the dramatic life, the artistic finish, the fine mythical presentment which make us love the Dialogues.<sup>3</sup> But the *Corpus Aristotelicum* exhibits the peculiar qualities of a *philosophic* style in so high a degree that we ought not only

<sup>1</sup> For fuller information on the methodological principles of Aristotle and their application, see the next chapter; and EUCKEN, *Die Methode d. Arist. Forschung* (1872); cf. especially pp. 29 sqq. 122 sqq. 152 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See Zeller's Plato, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 106 sq.

not to call him a 'bad writer,'<sup>1</sup> but ought rather to set him in this respect far above his great forerunner. He is accused of 'formalism,' though where the discussion grows more concrete, as in his physics or ethics, this falls away; but it will not be regarded as a blemish by those who remember how needful even in Plato's view this strict logical effort was—how much bewilderment among ideas must have been cured by keen distinctions in the meanings of words—how many fallacies will have been avoided by the exact analysis of the syllogism. Rather has Aristotle done the world immortal service in that he established a fixed basis for all scientific procedure, and won for thought thereby a security whose value to us we only overlook because we have grown too used to it to remember that it is great.

If, again, we endeavour to appreciate, so far as at this point we can, the standpoint and general view of the universe which we can call Aristotelian, we shall find two things. On the one hand, no one can overlook the basis he inherited from Socrates and Plato. Yet, on the other hand, there is an element of originality so notable and so sustained as to make us stigmatise the notion that Aristotle was a kind of dependent follower of Plato who did nothing but formally work up and complete his master's thought, as an error utterly unjust.<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle adheres not only to the Socratic proposition that Science has to do with the idea of things, but also to the further consequence which takes us into the heart of Plato's system, that that which is truly actual

<sup>1</sup> RITTER, iii. 28.

<sup>2</sup> BRANISS, *Gesch. d. Phil.*; see KANT, i. 179 sqq. 207 sq.

in a thing is only its essence as thought in the idea of it, and that all else is 'actual' only in so far as it partakes of that ideal essentiality. Yet, whereas to Plato this 'Essential Being' was a thing existing by itself, which he relegated to a separate ideal world beyond the world of experience, his follower recognises the truth that the Idea, as the essence of things, could not stand separate from the things themselves. Therefore he seeks to present the Idea, not as a Universal existing for itself apart, but as a common essence of things indwelling in the particular things themselves. In lieu of the negative relation to which the sundering of ideas and phenomena had led with Plato, he posits rather the positive relation of each to the other and their mutual dependence. Therefore he calls the sensible element the Matter, and the insensible essence the Form. He puts it that it is one and the same Being, here developed into actuality, there undeveloped and lying as a mere basis. So it comes that, for him, Matter must, by an inner necessity, strive upward to Form, and Form equally must present itself in Matter. In this transformation of Plato's metaphysic, it is easy to recognise the realism of the natural philosopher whose aim is the explanation of the actual. Just this is his strongest and ever recurrent charge against the Ideal Theory, that it leaves the world of phenomena, the things of Becoming and Change, unexplained. For his own part, he finds the very root-definitions of his metaphysic in his treatment of those processes wherein is the secret of all genesis and all change, whether by nature or by art.

Yet Aristotle, too, is barred from completing his philosophy in these directions by just that dualism of the philosophy of Ideas which he inherited from Plato. Hard as he tries to bring Form and Matter together, still to the last they always remain *two* principles, of which he can neither deduce one from the other, nor both from a third. Fully as they are worked out through the range of finite things, still the highest entity of all is nothing but the pure Spirit, left outside the world, thinking in itself—as the highest in man is that Reason which enters into him from without, and which never comes into any true unity with the individual side of his being. In this way, Aristotle is at once the perfection and the ending of the Idealism of Socrates and Plato: its perfection, because it is the most thorough effort to carry it throughout the whole realm of actuality and to explain the world of phenomenal things from the standpoint of the 'Idea'; but also its ending, since in it there comes to light the impossibility of ever holding together the Idea and the Phenomenon in any real unity, after we have once posited, in our definition of the ultimate basis of the world, an original opposition between them.

If we follow out the development of these principles in the Aristotelian system, and seek for that purpose to take a general view of the divisions he adopted, we are met at once with the unfortunate difficulty that, neither in his own writings nor in any trustworthy account of his method, is any satisfactory information on that point to be found.<sup>1</sup> If we should trust the later Peripatetics

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for what follows: RITTER, iii. 57 sqq.; BRANDIS, ii. b, 130



and the Neo-Platonic commentators, Aristotle had divided all philosophy into *Theoretic* and *Practical*, assigning to the former the office of perfecting the cognitive part of the soul, and to the latter that of perfecting the appetitive. In Theoretic Philosophy, they say, he again distinguished three parts: Physics, Mathematics, and Theology, also called First Philosophy or Metaphysics. Practical Philosophy likewise fell, it is said, into three: Ethics, Economics, and Politics.<sup>1</sup> There are not wanting indications in the Aristotelian writings which serve to support this statement. Aristotle often opposes to each other the theoretical and the practical reason.<sup>2</sup> He distinguishes between inquiries which are directed to Cognition, and those which are directed to Action.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly we find,

sqq.; TEICHMÜLLER, *Arist. Forsch.* ii. 9 sqq.; WALTER, *Die Lehre v. d. prakt. Vern.* 537 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Thus AMMON. in *Qu. voc. Porph.* 7, a, sqq. (who adds the fourfold division of Mathematics into Geometry, Astronomy, Music, and Arithmetic), and after him DAVID, *Schol.* 25, a, 1; SIMPL. *Phys. init. Categ.* i. ε; PHILOP. *Schol. in Ar.* 36, a, 6, *Phys. init.*; ANATOL. in *Fabric. Bibl.* iii. 462 H.; EUSTRAT. in *Eth. N. init.*; ANON. *Schol. in Arist.* 9, a, 31. The division into theoretical and practical philosophy had already been given by ALEX. in *Anal. Pri. init.* and DIOG. v. 28. Further, the latter, in part diverging from the others, divides theoretical philosophy into Physics and Logic (which, however, he does not consider so much a

real part as an instrument of Philosophy), practical philosophy into Ethics and Politics, and Politics into the science of the State and the science of the household. ALEX. *Top.* 17, gives as philosophical sciences, Physics, Ethics, Logic and Metaphysics; but as to Logic cf. below p. 187, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *De An.* iii. 9, 432, b, 26, c, 10, 433, a, 14; *Eth.* vi. 2, 1139, a, 6, cf. i. 13 *vers. fin.*; *Polit.* vii. 14, 1333, a, 24. For further information see chap. xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Eth.* i. 1, 1095, a, 5: ἐπειδὴ τὸ τέλος [τῆς πολιτικῆς] ἐστὶν οὐ γνώσις ἀλλὰ πράξις. Likewise, *ibid.* x. 10, 1179, a, 35, ii. 2, *init.*: ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπορροια πραγματείας οὐ θεωρίας ἕνεκα ἐστὶν ὥσπερ αἱ ἑλλαι (οὐ γὰρ ἴν' εἰδῶμεν τί ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετὴ σκεπτόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἴν' ἀγαθοὶ γινώμεθα, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν ὠφέλιον αὐτῆς), &c.

at an early date in his School, a division of Science into theoretic and practical.<sup>1</sup> He himself, however, is accustomed to add a third—the 'poietic science'<sup>2</sup>—because he distinguishes *ποίησις* or production from *πρᾶξις* or action, both by its source and by its end, saying that the former originates in the artistic faculty, the latter in the will,<sup>3</sup> and that production has its end outside itself in the work to be brought into being, but action has its end in the activity of the

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* ii. (a), 1, 993, b, 19: ὁρθῶς δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ καλεῖσθαι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀληθείας. θεωρητικῆς μὲν γὰρ (wherein, however, the whole of philosophy is here included) τέλος ἀλήθεια, πρακτικῆς δ' ἔργον. *Eth. Eud.* i. 1, 1214, a, 8: πολλῶν δ' ὄντων θεωρημάτων . . . τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν συντείνει πρὸς τὸ γινῶναι μόνον, τὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ πράγματος. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἔχει φιλοσοφίαν μόνον θεωρητικὴν, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* vi. 1, 1025, b, 18 sq.: ἡ φυσικὴ ἐπιστήμη . . . δῆλον ὅτι οὐτε πρακτικὴ ἐστὶν οὐτε ποιητικὴ . . . ὥστε εἰ πᾶσα διάνοια ἢ πρακτικὴ ἢ ποιητικὴ ἢ θεωρητικὴ, ἡ φυσικὴ θεωρητικὴ τις ἂν εἴη; c. 2, 1026, b, 4 (xi. 7): οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ ἐπιστήμῃ ἐπιμελὲς περὶ αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ συμβεβηκότος] οὐτε πρακτικῇ οὐτε ποιητικῇ οὐτε θεωρητικῇ. The same division of ἐπιστήμη in *Top.* vi. 6, 145, a, 15; viii. 1, 157, a, 10. Further cf. *Eth. N.* vi. 3-5, c. 2, 1139, a, 27, x. 8, 1718, b, 20, and on the difference between poietic and theoretic science in *De Carlo*, iii. 7, 306, a, 16; *Metaph.* xii. 9, 1075, a, 1, cf. ix. 2, 1046, b, 2, and Bonitz on this passage. Though Aristotle here

speaks merely of an ἐπιστήμη (not of a φιλοσοφία) πρακτικὴ and ποιητικὴ, these passages would justify our using the latter expression, since φιλοσοφία is synonymous with ἐπιστήμη when the latter signifies not merely knowledge in general, but science in the special sense of the term. And since in *Metaph.* vi. 1 (*vid. inf.* 183, n. 3) he gives three φιλοσοφίαι θεωρητικαί, this undoubtedly supposes that there is a non-theoretical, i.e. a practical or poietic philosophy. But one cannot believe that by the latter is meant, not that science which treats of πρᾶξις and ποίησις (Ethics, Politics, and the science of Art), but the faculty of the πρᾶξις and ποίησις itself, namely φρόνησις and τέχνη (*WALTER, Lehre v. d. prakt. Vern.* 540 sq.). Φιλοσοφία never has this meaning, and even ἐπιστήμη cannot have it in this context. So again since certain branches are distinguished as practical and poietic from Physics, Mathematics and Metaphysics, which are the theoretic sciences, the former must likewise be really sciences. And what other place would be left for Ethics, &c.?

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* vi. 1, 1025, b, 22:

actor.<sup>1</sup> The two coincide, however, as opposed to the *theoretic* activity in this, that they have to do with the determination of that which *can* be either one way or another, whereas Knowledge has to do with the determination of that which *cannot* be any otherwise than as it is.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle does also speak of three theoretic Sciences, the first concerning things which are *movable* and *corporeal*, the second referring to things *unmoved though corporeal*, the third dealing with that which is *incorporeal* and *unmoved*: these being Physics, Mathematics, and the First Philosophy,<sup>3</sup> which

τῶν μὲν γὰρ ποιητικῶν ἐν τῷ ποι-  
οῦντι ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ τοῦς ἡ τέχνη ἡ δύναμις  
τις, τῶν δὲ πρακτικῶν ἐν τῷ πράτ-  
τοντι ἡ προαίρεσις. Hence *Eth.* vi.  
5, 1140, b, 22: in the province of  
art it is better to err voluntarily;  
in that of morals involuntarily.

<sup>1</sup> *Eth.* vi. 4 *init.*: ἕτερον δ'  
ἐστὶ ποιήσις καὶ πρᾶξις; c. 5, 1140,  
b, 3: ἄλλο τὸ γένος πράξεως καὶ  
ποιήσεως . . . τῆς μὲν γὰρ ποιήσεως  
ἕτερον τὸ τέλος, τῆς δὲ πράξεως οὐκ  
ἂν εἴη· ἐστὶ γὰρ αὐτῇ ἡ εὐπραξία  
τέλος. *Ibid.* i. 1 *init.*

<sup>2</sup> *Eth.* vi. 3, 1139, b, 18:  
ἐπιστήμη μὲν οὖν τί ἐστὶν ἐντεῦθεν  
φανερὸν . . . πάντες γὰρ ὑπολαμ-  
βάνομεν, ὃ ἐπιστάμεθα μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι  
ἄλλως ἔχειν; c. 4 *init.*: τοῦ δ' ἐνδε-  
χομένου ἄλλως ἔχειν ἐστὶ τι καὶ  
ποιητὸν καὶ πρακτὸν, &c. Cf. c. 2,  
1139, a, 2 sqq. *De Caelo*, iii. 7, 306,  
a: *vid. supr.* p. 167, n. 2; *Part. An.*  
i. 1, 640, a, 3: ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῖς μὲν  
[the theorists] τὸ ὄν, τοῖς δὲ [the  
technicians] τὸ ἐσόμενον.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* vi. 1 (xi. 7) where  
among other things 1026, a, 13:  
ἡ μὲν γὰρ φυσικὴ περὶ ἀχώριστα μὲν  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκίνητα, τῆς δὲ μαθημα-  
τικῆς ἕνια περὶ ἀκίνητα μὲν οὐ

χωριστὰ δ' ἴσως, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν βλῃ. ἡ  
δὲ πρώτη [sc. φιλοσοφία] καὶ περὶ  
χωριστὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα . . . ὥστε τρεῖς  
ἂν εἴεν φιλοσοφίαι θεωρητικαί, μαθη-  
ματικὴ, φυσικὴ, θεολογικὴ. Simi-  
larly xii. 1, 1096, a, 30, c, 6 *init.*;  
*De An.* i. 1, 403, b, 7 sqq. About  
the name of the first philosophy,  
cf. also p. 76, *supra*. As to Mathe-  
matics as the science of numbers  
and quantity, and the abstraction  
peculiar to it, whereby it does not  
consider a body according to its  
physical properties, but only from  
the point of view of magnitude in  
space, and, in determining num-  
ber and quantity, disregards the  
intrinsic condition of that in  
which they occur, see *Phys.* ii. 2,  
193, b, 31 sqq.; *Anal. Post.* i. 10,  
76, b, 3, c. 13, 79 a, 7; *Anal.*  
*Pr.* i. 41, 49, b, 35; *Metaph.* xi.  
4, c. 3, 1061, a, 28, vii. 10, 1036,  
a, 9, xiii. 2, 1077, a, 9 to c. 3 *fin.*,  
iii. 2, 997, b, 20, *ibid.* 996, a, 29;  
*De An.* iii. 7 *fin.* Detached state-  
ments on Mathematics are found  
in many places, e.g. *Metaph.* i. 2,  
982, a, 26; *De Caelo*, iii. 1, 299, a,  
15, c. 7, 306, a, 26; *De An.* i. 1,  
402, b, 16. Cf. BRANDIS, p. 135

he names also Theology, and treats as the pinnacle of all knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

If, however, we attempt to apply the suggested division to the contents of the Aristotelian books,<sup>2</sup> we

sqq. The contradiction which RITTER, iii. 73 sq., finds in Aristotle, viz. that a sensible substratum is first denied and afterwards attributed to Mathematics, and that its object is now designated as removed, now as not removed, from what is sensible, is partly solved by the distinction of the purely mathematical from the applied sciences, and partly and chiefly by the remark that Aristotle nowhere says that the object of Mathematics is a χωριστόν, but only that it is *considered* as such, i.e. by abstracting from its sensible nature; in *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1073, b, 3, moreover, Astronomy according to the common reading is not called 'the truest philosophy,' but the οικειοτάτη, the most important of the mathematical sciences for the discussion in hand; still Bonitz is right in reading: τῆς οικειωτάτης φιλοσοφίας τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἐπιστημῶν.

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* vi. 1, 1026, a, 21 (and almost the same in xi. 7, 1064, b, 1), after what is given in the preceding note: τὴν τιμιωτάτην [ἐπιστήμην] δεῖ περὶ τὸ τιμιώτατον γένος εἶναι. (For, as is said in 1064, b, 5: βελτίων καὶ χείρων ἐκάστη λέγεται κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπιστήμην.) αἱ μὲν οὖν θεωρητικαὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν αἰρετώτεραι, αὕτη δὲ τῶν θεωρητικῶν. He discusses at length in *Metaph.* i. 2, why the first philosophy especially deserves the name σοφία: because, as perceiving the most universal, it gives the most comprehensive

knowledge; because it investigates what is most difficult to be known; because the science of the last reasons is the most accurate (ἀκριβεστάτη) and gives the most perfect instruction as to causes; because, more than any other, it pursues knowledge for its own sake; and because, as the science of principles, and hence also of final ends, it must govern all others. In *Top.* viii. 1, 157, a, 9, the following is given as an example of a division: ὅτι ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστήμης βελτίων ἢ τῷ ἀκριβεστέρα εἶναι ἢ τῷ βελτιόνει. Aristotle in *Metaph.* xii. 9, 1074, b, 29 sq. also supposes that the value of knowledge is proportioned to that of its object. The universal pre-eminence of the theoretical over the practical and poetic sciences does not, however, rest on this, nor on their greater exactness, for some of them (the zoological and psychological sciences) have no superiority over Ethics in either respect; but primarily on the fact that knowledge is here an end in itself; cf. *Metaph.* i. 1, 981, b, 17 sqq. 982, a, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Ravaisson (*Essai sur la Métaphysique d'Aristote*, i. 244 sqq.), who wishes to subdivide theoretical philosophy into Theology, Mathematics and Physics, practical philosophy into Ethics, Economics and Politics, and poetic philosophy into Poetics, Rhetoric and Dialectics.

run at once into manifold troubles. Of all that Aristotle wrote, the only thing which would fall under 'poietic science' is the *Poetics*; for he himself relegates the *Rhetoric* to another section by indicating that it is a side-branch of Dialectics and Politics; and Dialectics cannot be disconnected from Analytics or Logic.<sup>2</sup>

If we were to conclude from this difficulty that the division into *two* groups—theoretic and practical—was preferable to the division into *three*, we should thereby be cutting ourselves loose from the statements of Aristotle himself. It further appears that in the presentation of his system he took no account of the existence of Mathematics. The one mathematical work to which he gives a reference, and which can with certainty be taken to be genuine—the tract on Astronomy—belongs, according to the classification above indicated, to

<sup>1</sup> *Rhet.* i. 2, 1356, a, 25: ὥστε συμβαίνει τὴν ῥητορικὴν ὅλον παραφυῆς τι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς εἶναι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἥθη πραγματείας, ἣν δίκαιόν ἐστι προσαγορεύειν πολιτικὴν. c. 3, 1359, b, 8: ὅπερ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον εἰρηκότες τυγχάνομεν ἀληθὲς ἐστίν, ὅτι ἡ ῥητορικὴ σύγκειται μὲν ἐκ τε τῆς ἀναλυτικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἥθη πολιτικῆς, ὁμοίᾳ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ διαλεκτικῇ τὰ δὲ τοῖς σοφιστικαῖς λόγοις. *Eth.* i. 1, 1094, b, 2: ὁρώμεν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐντιμοτάτας τῶν δυνάμεων ὑπὸ ταύτην [τὴν πολιτικὴν] ὄσας, ὅλον στρατηγικὴν, οἰκονομικὴν, ῥητορικὴν· χρωμένῃς δὲ ταύτης ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῶν πρακτικῶν ἐπιστημῶν, &c. These expressions seem to have a direct reference to the passage cited from the *Rhetoric*. Aristotle sees in it an application of Dialectics for the

purposes of Politics; and since the character of a science depends on its purpose, he includes it in the practical section. Hence, although in itself an artistic science, and designated as such by Aristotle (e.g. *Rhet.* i. 1354, a, 11 sq. b, 21, 1355, a, 4, 33, b, 11, c. 2, 1356, b, 26 sqq.; rhetorical theories are also called τέχναι, cf. *supra*, p. 72. 2, 73, 1), still he does not seem to give Rhetoric an independent place in the system, as Brandis does (ii. b, 147), and still more decidedly Döring (*Kunstl. d. Arist.* 78).

<sup>2</sup> So in *Top.* i. 1 *init.* c. 2, it is plainly designated as an auxiliary science to philosophy in general, and especially to the theoretical investigations.

Physics. Of the others, they are either of doubtful authenticity or, in any case, the absence of any references leaves us to suspect that these were not considered an essential part of the connected exposition of his system.<sup>1</sup> The *Physics*, again, is spoken of as the 'second,'<sup>2</sup> not the third, philosophy—as if there were no thought of Mathematics standing between it and the 'First Philosophy:' and Aristotle himself refers the *Mathematical Axioms* to the 'First Philosophy.'<sup>3</sup>

As regards Practical Philosophy, Aristotle does not divide it into Ethics, Economics and Politics<sup>4</sup>—like the later commentators<sup>5</sup> who were misled in that matter by the spurious Economics. He distinguishes in the first place<sup>6</sup> the main Ethical Science—which he desires to call 'Politics'<sup>7</sup>—from the auxiliary sciences of Economics, Military Tactics, and Rhetoric<sup>8</sup>: and then in 'Politics' he distinguishes that section which treats of

<sup>1</sup> About these writings cf. p. 86, n. 1, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* vii. 11, 1037, a, 14: τῆς φυσικῆς καὶ δευτέρας φιλοσοφίας.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* iv. 3 *init.* (xi. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle in *Eth.* vi. 9, 1142, a, 9, besides φρόνησις which relates to individual action, certainly names οἰκονομία and πολιτεία also: but in 1141, b, 31 he has divided Politics (*i.e.* the science of the life in society with the exclusion of Ethics) into οἰκονομία, νομοθεσία, πολιτική, so that, according to this, Economics forms a part of Politics. Still more definitely Eudemus in *Eth. Eud.* i. 8, 1218, b, 13, combines the πολιτικὴ καὶ οἰκονομικὴ καὶ φρόνησις

as the three parts of practical science; this division must consequently belong to the oldest Peripatetics.

<sup>5</sup> With whom, besides Ravaisson, RITTER, iii. 302, also agrees.

<sup>6</sup> *Eth.* i. 1, 1094, a, 18 sqq., vi. 9, 1141, b, 23 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> *Eth.* i. 1, *ibid.*, and 1095, a, 2, i. 2 *init.* and *fin.*, ii. 2, 1105, a, 12, vii. 12 *init.*, cf. i. 13, 1102, a, 23. *Rhet.* i. 2, 3, *vid. supra* p. 185, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Eth.* i. 1, 1094, b, 2; *Rhet.* i. 2, 1356, a, 25. Also in the first book of the *Politics*, Economics, as far as Aristotle has treated the subject, is taken to belong to the science of the State.

the moral action of the individual from that which treats of the State.<sup>1</sup>

It is also important to remember that in the above division, whether we take it to be twofold or threefold, there is no place for Logic. The later Peripatetics get over this difficulty by the theory—which is a point of controversy between them and the Stoics—that Logic is not a part of Philosophy, but only an instrument for it.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle himself never hints at this distinction,<sup>3</sup> although he does, of course, treat Logic as a Methodology.<sup>4</sup> Nor will the suggestion help us much; for since Aristotle *had* worked out his Logic with such scientific care, it must have had *some* definite place in his system.<sup>5</sup> The only conclusion is that the scheme of subdivision, which we deduce from the above-quoted remarks of Aristotle, seems to be in part too wide and in part too narrow for the matter which his books contain.

A different subdivision of the system might be built

<sup>1</sup> *Eth.* i. 1, 1094, b, 7. So also in the lengthy discussion, x. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *DIOG.* v. 28; *ALEX.* in *Pri. Anal.* init., *Schol.* 141, a, 19, b, 25, in *Top.* 41, m, *AMMON.* *apud* *WAITZ, Arist. Org.* i. 44 *med.*; *SIMPL. Categ.* 1, §, *Schol.* 39, b, and *PHILOP.* in *Categ. Schol.* in *Ar.* 36, a, 6, 12, 37, b, 46. The same in *Anal. Pri. ibid.* 143, a, 3. *ANON. ibid.* 140, a, 45 sqq. *DAVID,* in *Categ. Schol.* 25, a, 1, where there are also further fragmentary subdivisions of Logic and the logical writings.

<sup>3</sup> That in *Top.* i. 18 *fin.*, and viii. 14, 163, b, 9, he speaks of logical readiness as an organ of

philosophy, is of course beside the point.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 91 sq.

<sup>5</sup> No more trustworthy is Ravaisson's statement (*loc. cit.* 252, 264 sq.), that Analytics is no special science, but the form of all science. It is much rather the *knowledge* of this form, which constitutes a particular branch just as much as Metaphysics, which is the knowledge of the universal grounds of all Being. *MARBACH, Gesch. d. Phil.* i. 247, even thinks that 'there can be no doubt that the "Mathematics" which forms a part of philosophy is what is now called Logic.'

on the other remark, that all propositions and problems are either ethical, physical, or logical.<sup>1</sup> Under the logical head, however, Aristotle here comprehends both formal Logic and the First Philosophy or Metaphysics,<sup>2</sup> and this alone would prove that he could not here have meant to indicate a scheme for the presentation of his system, in which these two departments are kept so obviously distinct.

If, then, we are forced to give up the attempt to find in his own isolated remarks any key to the plan of his work which corresponds with the construction itself, nothing remains but to gather from the actual work as we have it, the method of the work he designed. Abstracting from those of his writings which are intended only as preliminary essays, or devoted to historical materials or collections concerning natural history, or taken up with philosophic criticism, we distinguish among Aristotle's writings four main masses. These are his investigations of Logic, of Metaphysics, of Natural History, and of Ethics. A fifth would be the

<sup>1</sup> *Top.* i. 14, 104, b, 19: ἔστι δ' ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν τῶν προτάσεων καὶ τῶν προβλημάτων μέρη τρία. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠθικαὶ προτάσεις εἰσὶν, αἱ δὲ λογικαὶ . . . ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ προβλήματα . . . πρὸς μὲν οὖν φιλοσοφίαν κατ' ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν πραγματευτέον, διαλεκτικῶς δὲ πρὸς δόξαν. It is of no importance as against this, that, in dealing with the difference between knowledge and representation, Aristotle remarks in *Anal. Post.* i. 33 fin.: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πῶς δεῖ διανεῖμαι ἐπὶ τε διανοίας καὶ νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνης καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας

τὰ μὲν φυσικῆς τὰ δὲ ἠθικῆς θεωρίας μᾶλλον ἔστιν.

<sup>2</sup> As an instance of logical propositions *Top. ubi sup.* mentions the principle, which belongs equally to Methodology or Analytics and to Metaphysics (cf. *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, a, 9 sqq., 1005, a, 2), that opposites fall under the same science. Again, in the instances given on p. 174, n. 2, *supra*, *λογικὸς* at one time stands for logical, at another for metaphysical inquiries; for the latter also in *Eth. Eud.* i. 8, 1217, b, 16.



Philosophy of Art, except that Aristotle did not work out any part of it except the *Poetics*. He seems to have forgotten to deduce these various branches of work from the idea and problem of philosophy as a whole, or to reduce them to any simpler plan of division. Of these five, the section of Logic and Methodology ought to come first, not only in the time order of the important texts,<sup>1</sup> but also in the order of exposition—for Aristotle himself describes it as a propaedeutic for all other inquiries.<sup>2</sup> After the investigation of scientific method, the 'First Philosophy' must come. For, although the connected exposition of it belongs in time to the close of Aristotle's work,<sup>3</sup> nevertheless it contains the key to the philosophical understanding of the *Physics* and the *Ethics*, and it is from it we must obtain all the definitions, without which we could take not a step in either of these sciences—such as the definitions of the Four Causes, of Form and Matter, of the different senses of Being, of Substance and Accident, of the Mover and the Moved, &c. The very

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 156 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* iv. 3, 1005, b, 2: *ὅσα δ' ἐγχειροῦσι τῶν λεγόντων τινὲς περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃν τρόπον δεῖ ἀποδέχεσθαι, δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν τοῦτο δρῶσιν· δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἡκεῖν προεπισταμένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀκούοντας ζητεῖν.* It is much the same for the question in hand, whether the *τούτων* is referred to *ἀναλυτικῶν*, or more correctly to the investigations indicated in the words *περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας* &c., since from the nature of the thing it comes to the same, whether he says, 'One must be acquainted with Ana-

lytics,' or 'One must be acquainted with what Analytics has to discuss.' Inadmissible, on the other hand, is Prantl's explanation (*Gesch. d. Log.* i. 137), which refers the *τούτων*, not to the words with which it is immediately connected, but to the *δεξιώματα*, about which Aristotle has spoken above. As a consequence of this translation, Prantl thinks it monstrous that this passage should be used as a proof of the precedence of the Analytics.

<sup>3</sup> *Vid. supra*, p. 76 seq., and p. 160, n.

name of the 'First Philosophy' expresses the fact that in the logical order it precedes all other material investigations, as being concerned with the discussion of the most universal of all presuppositions.<sup>1</sup> The *Physics* follow on after the 'First Philosophy,' and the *Ethics* follow the *Physics*, because the latter is presupposed in the former.<sup>2</sup> The *Rhetoric* must be taken as belonging to *Ethics*.<sup>3</sup> The philosophy of Art, on the other hand, forms a section by itself, which is not brought into any definite connection with the rest. We can only treat it, therefore, as an appendix. To a like position we must relegate also Aristotle's occasional utterances as to Religion—for a Philosophy of Religion, in the true sense, was not within his view.

<sup>1</sup> Still more plainly than by the superlative *πρώτη φιλοσοφία* is this shown by the comparative: *φιλοσοφία προτέρα* (φυσικῆς, μαθημα-  
 τικῆς), *Metaph.* vi. 1, 1026, a, 13, 30, *Gen. et Corr.* i. 318, a, 5.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid. supra*, p. 159.  
<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, p. 185, n. 1.

## CHAPTER V

## LOGIC

FROM of old, Aristotle has been renowned as the founder of Logic, and he has deserved his fame. We must not, however, overlook the fact that he treated Logic, not as an independent science, but only from the point of view of Methodology, as the 'technique' of his philosophic investigations. In dealing with it, therefore, he does not contemplate by any means a full and uniform account of the powers of thought as a whole, but rather a simple inquiry into the forms and laws of scientific proof. Of the first half of his Logic—the *Topics*—he admits this himself.<sup>1</sup> Of the other and more important section—the *Analytics*—it follows partly from single references which assign to it the place of a Propaedeutic of Science,<sup>2</sup> partly from the analogy of the *Topics* aforesaid, but more especially from the whole treatment of the subject. Of the two *Analytics*, the logical masterpieces of Aristotle, the first is concerned with Syllogisms, the second with the laws of Proof.<sup>3</sup> Only in connection with these investigations, and only in so

<sup>1</sup> *Top. i. 1 init.*: ἡ μὲν πρόθεσις τῆς πραγματείας μέθοδον εὑρεῖν, ἀφ' ἧς δυνασόμεθα συλλογίζεσθαι περὶ παντὸς τοῦ προτεθέντος προβλήματος ἐξ ἐνδόξων καὶ αὐτοὶ λόγον ὑπέχοντες μὴθ' ἐν ἐρούμεν ὑπεναντίον. Cf. c. 2. c. 3: ἔχομεν δὲ τελέως τὴν μέθοδον,

ὅταν ὁμοίως ἔχωμεν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ρητορικῆς καὶ ἰατρικῆς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμεων· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ποιεῖν ἃ προαιρούμεθα.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. supra*, p. 189, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The common theme of both

far as may be necessary thereto, did he stay to consider the theory of Propositions.<sup>1</sup> It was not until a later period,<sup>2</sup> (if at all) that he extended these hints into a separate treatise in the *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας*. In the same way, it is from the consideration of the Syllogism that he is led to the logical treatment of Notions. He touches on Definition in the *Analytics*,<sup>3</sup> merely as a matter connected with Proof; and, in fact, the logical properties of Notions as a whole are only taken up as incidental to the Syllogism.<sup>4</sup> The theory of the Categories, on the other hand, belongs more to Metaphysics than to Logic, because it is not deduced from the *logical* form of the Notion as such, or from the process of thought involved in its construction, but is derived rather from the natural division of those *real* relations, to which the Categories, according to their content, are referred.<sup>5</sup> The very name of 'Analytica'<sup>6</sup> indicates that in the

is thus designated in *Anal. Pri.* init.: *πρῶτον μὲν εἰπεῖν περὶ τὴν καὶ τίνος ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις, ὅτι περὶ ἀποδείξεων καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἀποδεικτικῆς*. Likewise at end of *Anal. Post.* ii. 19 init.: *περὶ μὲν οὖν συλλογισμοῦ καὶ ἀποδείξεως, τί τε ἐκάτερόν ἐστι καὶ πῶς γίνεται, φανερόν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ περὶ ἐπιστήμης ἀποδεικτικῆς· ταῦτόν γάρ ἐστιν*.

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Pri.* i. 1-3. *Anal. Post.* i. 2, 72, b, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. supr.* p. 66, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 3 sqq. and cf. especially c. 10.

<sup>4</sup> The little that has to be mentioned with regard to this will be adduced later. The definition of the *ὅρος* in *Anal. Pri.* i. 1, 24, b, 16 alone shows (*ὅρον δὲ καλῶ εἰς ὃν διαλύεται ἡ πρότασις*)

that Aristotle is going by an analytical method, and just as he proceeds from syllogisms to propositions, so in like manner he passes from propositions to notions. Both are merely considered as factors in the syllogism.

<sup>5</sup> Some other writings on Concepts, which were mentioned on p. 70, *supra*, seem to have had a purely logical character; but probably not one of them was the work of Aristotle.

<sup>6</sup> Aristotle not only calls both the principal logical writings *Ἀναλυτικά* (see p. 67, n. 1), but (*vid. supr.*, p. 189, n. 2, and p. 185, n. 1) he uses the same designation for the science of which they treat.

investigations which we should class under 'Formal Logic,' Aristotle was chiefly concerned to determine the conditions of scientific procedure, and especially of scientific processes of proof.<sup>1</sup>

Socrates had revealed the method of forming Conceptions; Plato had added that of Division; Aristotle was the discoverer of the theory of Proof. This is to him so clearly the one important point, that he resolves into it the whole science of Methodology. It follows, then, that when the later Peripatetics described Logic<sup>2</sup> as an 'instrument' of philosophy,<sup>3</sup> and when accordingly the logical writings of Aristotle were in the end published together under the name of the 'Organon,'<sup>4</sup> this was in no way contrary to the

<sup>1</sup> Ἀναλύειν means to reduce a given thing to the parts of which it is composed, or to investigate the conditions through which it is brought about. In this sense Aristotle uses ἀνάλυσις and ἀναλύειν regularly for the reduction of syllogisms to the three figures, e.g. *Anal. Pri.* i. 32 *init.*: εἰ . . . τοὺς γεγενημένους [συλλογισμοὺς] ἀναλύομεν εἰς τὰ προειρημένα σχήματα, for which was written immediately before: πῶς δ' ἀνέξομεν τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς εἰς τὰ προειρημένα σχήματα. Cf. BONITZ, *Ind. Arist.* 48, b, 16. And since every investigation consists in tracing out the component parts and conditions of that with which it is concerned, ἀναλύειν together with ζητεῖν stands for 'investigate.' Thus *Eth. N.* iii. 5, 1112, b, 15: (βουλεύεται . . . οὐδὲς περὶ τοῦ τέλους) ἀλλὰ θέμενοι τέλος τι, πῶς καὶ διὰ τίνων ἔσται σκοποῦσι . . . ἕως ἂν ἔλθωσι

ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον αἷτιον, δ' ἐν τῇ εὐρέσει ἔσχατόν ἐστιν· ὁ γὰρ βουλεύμενος ἔοικε ζητεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ὥσπερ διάγραμμα. φαίνεται δ' ἡ μὲν ζήτησις οὐ πᾶσα εἶναι βούλευσις, οἷον αἱ μαθηματικαί, ἡ δὲ βούλευσις πᾶσα ζήτησις, καὶ τὸ ἔσχατον ἐν τῇ ἀναλύσει πρῶτον εἶναι ἐν τῇ γενέσει. (Cf. TRENDLENBURG, *Elem. Log. Arist.* p. 47 sq.) The ἀναλυτικὴ ἐπιστήμη (*Rhet.* i. 4, 1359, b, 10) designates accordingly the art of scientific inquiry, or the introduction to it, which is scientific methodology; and similarly τὰ ἀναλυτικά means 'that which deals with scientific inquiry,' i.e. the theory of it: as in *Metaph.* iv. 3, 1005, b, 2.

<sup>2</sup> On this designation, proved to have existed since the time of Cicero, cf. PRANTL, *Gesch. d. Log.* i. 514, 27, 535.

<sup>3</sup> *Vid. sup.* p. 187, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> This name is not used by any of the Greek commentators

Master's own view.<sup>1</sup> The further theory that Logic, as being the 'Organon' of philosophy, could not be also a *part* of philosophy,<sup>2</sup> he would hardly have approved.

In order rightly to comprehend this Science of Method, it will first be necessary for us to go more closely into Aristotle's views concerning the nature and origin of Knowledge. For it is the conception of Knowledge which determines the aim and the direction of the procedure of Science; and the natural development of Knowledge in the mind of man must point the way for its systematic development in Science also.

All Knowledge relates to the *Essence of Things*—to the *Universal* properties which remain identical with themselves in all individual things, and to the *Causes* of all that is actual.<sup>3</sup> Conversely, however, it is true that the Universal is only to be known through

till the sixth century, as applied to the *writings*; it only came to this use later (cf. WAITZ, *Arist. Org.* ii. 293 sq.). On the other hand, the texts are, before that time, called by them *ὀργανικά*, because they refer to the *ὄργανον* (or *ὀργανικὸν μέρος*) *φιλοσοφίας*; cf. SIMPL. in *Categ.* 1, ε; PHILOP. in *Cat.* Schol. 36, a, 7, 15; DAVID, *ibid.* 25, a, 3.

<sup>1</sup> PRANTL, *Gesch. d. Log.* i. 136, is in this respect unreasonable, when he denounces 'the schoolmasters of later antiquity,' who, 'infected with the folly of the Stoic philosophy,' wished at any price to represent Logic as the tool of knowledge. This is really the position and meaning which Aristotle gives it. The theory that in the same sense as Physics

and Ethics it has its own end in itself and its own object, or that it is meant to be a philosophically established presentment of the activity of human thought and nothing else (*ibid.* p. 138 sq.), is a supposition which can neither be proved from any definite statements of Aristotle, nor from the construction of his logical writings. The 'real-metaphysical side of the Aristotelian logic,' however, need not on this account be disregarded. Even if it is regarded as the Science of Method, it may have its foundations in Metaphysics; and even though it precede the latter, yet it may become necessary, in the end, to reduce it to metaphysical principles.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid. supr.* p. 187, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Vid. supr.* pp. 163 sq., 173 sq.

the Individuals, the Essence only through Appearances, the Causes only through their Effects. This follows in part from Aristotle's metaphysical propositions about the relation of the individual to the universal, which will meet us hereafter; for if it is individual existence alone which can be called originally actual—if the Universals exist, not independently as 'Ideas' but only in attachment to individual things as 'properties'—it follows that the experiential knowledge of Individuals must necessarily precede the scientific knowledge of Universals.<sup>1</sup> Quite as directly, to Aristotle, will the same conclusion follow from the nature of man's powers of knowledge. For while he unhesitatingly admits that the soul must bear within itself the ground-principle of its knowledge, he is equally positive that it is not possible to attain any real knowledge except by means of experience. All learning presupposes, of course, some present knowledge, to which it joins on.<sup>2</sup> Out of this axiom there arises the doubt, which had given the earlier thinkers so much trouble,<sup>3</sup> about the possibility of learning at all. For either, as it seems, we

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle himself points out this connection of his doctrine of perception with his metaphysics in *De An.* iii. 8, 432, a, 2: ἐπει δὲ οὐδὲ πρῶτα οὐθέν ἐστι παρὰ τὰ μεγέθη, ὡς δοκεῖ, τὰ αἰσθητὰ κεχωρισμένον, ἐν τοῖς εἶδεσι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητὰ ἐστι (cf. c. 4, 430, a, 6: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὕλην δύναμει ἑκαστόν ἐστι τῶν νοητῶν) τὰ τε ἐν ἀφαιρέσει λεγόμενα [abstract notions] καὶ ὅσα τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἔξεις καὶ πάθη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐτε μὴ αἰσθανόμενος μὴθ' ἐν οὐθέν ἔν μάθοι οὐδὲ ξυνείη· ὅταν τε θεωρῇ, ἀνάγκη

ἔμα φάντασμα τι θεωρεῖν· τὰ γὰρ φαντάσματα ὥσπερ αἰσθηματὰ ἐστι, πλὴν ἄνευ ὕλης.

<sup>2</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. *init*: πᾶσα διδασκαλία καὶ πᾶσα μάθησις διανοητική ἐκ προϋπαρχούσης γίνεται γνώσεως—which he immediately proceeds to prove as to the different sciences, both as regards syllogistic and inductive proof. The like in *Metaph.* i. 9, 992, b, 30; *Eth.* vi. 3, 1139, b, 26.

<sup>3</sup> See ZELL., *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 996, and pt. ii. a, 696.

must already be possessed of that knowledge from which all the rest is to be deduced—which is not in fact true—or else we have still to acquire it, in which case the said axiom does not hold for that which is the highest knowledge of all.<sup>1</sup> It was this difficulty that Plato sought to avoid by his doctrine of ‘Anamnesis’—the latent recollection of a prior knowledge. But apart from all the other objections which he finds to lie against the pre-existence of the soul,<sup>2</sup> Aristotle is unable to reconcile himself with this theory, because it seems to him unthinkable that we should *have in us a knowledge without knowing it*;<sup>3</sup> not to speak of all the various absurdities to which a closer analysis of the notion of the existence of the Ideas in the soul would obviously lead.<sup>4</sup> His solution lies rather in that conception by means of which he has answered so many of the questions of metaphysics and natural philosophy—in the notion of ‘Development’—in the distinction between the groundwork of potentiality and the completed actuality. The soul, he says, must certainly bear within itself in *some* sense its knowledge. For if even our Sense Perception

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 19, 99, b, 20: Every knowledge by argument supposes acquaintance with the highest principles (the ἀρχαὶ ἀμεσοί, *vid. inf.*): τῶν δ' ἀμέσων τὴν γνῶσιν . . . διαφορῆσειεν ἂν τις . . . καὶ πότερον οὐκ ἐνοῦσαι αἱ ἕξεις [the γνῶσις of the ἀρχαὶ] ἐγγίνονται ἢ ἐνοῦσαι λεληθασιν. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἔχομεν αὐτὰς, ἄτοπον· συμβαίνει γὰρ ἀκριβεστέρας ἔχοντας γνῶσεις ἀποδείξεως λανθάνειν. εἰ δὲ λαμβάνομεν μὴ ἔχοντας πρότερον, πῶς ἂν γνωρίζοιμεν καὶ μαθησόμεθα ἐκ μὴ προϋπαρχούσης γνώσεως· ἀδύνατον γὰρ . . . φανερόν

τοίνυν, οὐτ' ἔχειν οἶδόν τε, οὐτ' ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχουσιν ἔξω ἐγγίνεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the section as to the relation of soul and body, *infra*, ch. x. *init.*

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Post. loc. cit.*, and *Metaph.* i. 9, 992, b, 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Top.* ii. 7, 113, a, 25: if ideas were in us they would have also to move with us, &c. Still Aristotle himself would scarcely have laid much stress on this merely dialectical line of attack.



is to be regarded, not as a passive reception of things given, but rather as an activity for which such reception is the occasion.<sup>1</sup> When the same must be true of Thought,<sup>2</sup> which has no outward object at all. Because our pure thought is not different from the things thought,<sup>3</sup> therefore there lies in its nature as such the possibility of knowing with an immediate knowledge those highest principles, which are presupposed by all derivative and mediate knowledge as its condition and starting-point.<sup>4</sup> So far, then, the soul may be de-

<sup>1</sup> *De An.* ii. 5, 417, b. 2 sqq. Aristotle here says that neither consciousness nor thought ought to be called a πάσχω and an ἀλλοίωσις, unless we distinguish two kinds of suffering and change: τὴν τε ἐπὶ τὰς στερητικαῖς διαβάσεις μεταβαλὼν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξεις καὶ τῇν φύσιν. Similarly in iii. 5, 429, b, 22 sqq., iii. 7, 431, a, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *De An.* ii. 417, b, 18: καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐνέργειαν [αἰσθάνεσθαι] δὲ ὁμοίως λέγεται τῷ θεωρεῖν· διαφέρει δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν τὰ ποιητικὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἔξωθεν, τὸ δρασὶν etc. αἰτιον δ' ὅτι τὸν καθ' ἑαυτον ἢ κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἰσθῆσις, ἢ δ' ἐπιστήμη τῶν καθόλου· ταῦτα δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶσι ἔστι τῇ ψυχῇ. διὰ νοῆσαι μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὅταν βούληται, αἰσθάνεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῷ· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τὸ αἰσθῆτόν.

<sup>3</sup> *De An.* iii. at 430, a, 2 (following the passage to be cited presently on p. 199, n. 2), he says: 192, 3: καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ [ὁ νοῦς] νοητός ἐστιν ὥσπερ τὰ νοητά. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄνευ βλῆς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔστι τὸ νοῦν καὶ τὸ νοούμενον· ἢ γὰρ ἐπιστήμη ἢ θεωρητικὴ καὶ τὸ οὕτως ἐπιστητὸν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστιν. *Ibid.* iii. 7 init.: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ἐστιν ἢ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἐπιστήμη τῷ πράγματι. *Metaph.* xii. 7, 1074,

b. 35: ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκαστῶν τι πρᾶγμα. ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ἔστι λόγος ἢ νόμος καὶ τὸ τὸ αὐτὸ. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων δὲ λόγος τι πρᾶγμα καὶ ἡ νοῦσις.

<sup>4</sup> *Arist. Prae.* II. 12, 110, b. 4: ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . οὐδὲν ἐπιστήμης ἀποδεκτοῦν ἕλλοι γινῆναι ἢ νοῦν. α. 7 ἀρχαὶ τῶν ἀποδείξεων προαιτιαταί. ἐπιστήμη δ' ὡς καὶ μετὰ λόγου ἐστὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐπιστήμη μὲς οὐκ ἐν αὐτῇ. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀληθεστέρον ὑπερχεται εἶναι ἐπιστήμης ἢ νοῦν, νοῦς ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἀρχῶν . . . εἰ οὐ καὶ μὲν ἕλλοι κατ' ἐπιστήμην γινῆναι ἔχοντες ἀληθῆς, νοῦς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπιστήμης ἀρχή. *Eth.* vi. 6: τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἐπιστητοῦ οὐκ ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ αὐτῇ ὅσπερ τέχνη ὅτε φρόνησις . . . λείπεται νοῦν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχῶν. c. 7, 1141, a, 17. b, 2. c. 9, 1142, a, 25: ὁ μὲν γὰρ νοῦς τῶν ὄντων. ἐν οἷα ἐστὶ λόγος. c. 12, 1143, a, 35 (with which cf. TRENDLENBURG, *Hist. Beitr.* ii. 375 sqq.; WALTER, *Die Lehre v. d. prakt. Vernunft*, etc., 38 sqq.): ὁ νοῦς τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω: καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων νοῦς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ λόγος, καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τῶν ἀκινήτων ὄντων καὶ πρώτων, ὁ δ' ἐν ταῖς πρακτικαῖς τοῦ ἐσχάτου καὶ ἐνδεχομένου etc. (More will be

scribed as the 'place of the Ideas,'<sup>1</sup> and it may be said of the faculty of Thought that it *is* in itself all that is

said as to the latter, in ch. xi. and xii. *infra*.) This recognition of principles is an immediate knowledge (*ἔμμεσον*), for the root principles of all argument cannot, in their turn, be proved: (cf. *Anal. Post.* i. 2, 3, 72, a, 7, b, 18 sqq. c, 22, 84, a, 30; ii. 9 *init.* c. 10, 94, a, 9; and *Metaph.* iv. 4, 1006, a, 6, 1011, a, 13; more fully later). But on this very account it is always true. For error only consists in a false conjunction of perceptions, and hence arises only in the Proposition by reason of the conjunction of the Predicate with a Subject (*Categ.* 4 *fin.*; *De Interpr.* i. 16, a, 12; *De An.* iii. 8, 432, a, 11); immediate knowledge, on the other hand, is concerned with pure conceptions relating to no subject distinct from themselves, which we can only know or not know, but as to which we cannot be deceived; *De An.* iii. 6 *init.*: ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀδιαιρέτων νόησις ἐν τούτοις περὶ ἃ οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ψεῦδος· ἐν οἷς δὲ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ τὸ ἀληθές, σύνθεσις τις ἥδη νοημάτων ὥς ἐν ὄντων; and *ibid.* at the end: ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν φάσις τί κατὰ τινος, ὥσπερ ἡ κατάφασις, καὶ ἀληθὴς ἡ ψευδὴς πᾶσα· ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὐ πᾶς, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ τί ἔστι κατὰ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι ἀληθὴς, καὶ οὐ τί κατὰ τινος· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸ ὄρῳ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀληθές, εἰ δ' ἄνθρωπος τὸ λευκὸν ἢ μὴ, οὐκ ἀληθές ἀεὶ, οὕτως ἔχει ὅσα ἄνευ ὅλης. *Metaph.* ix. 10: ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . τὸ . . . ἀληθές ἢ ψεῦδος . . . ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔστι τῷ συγκείσθαι ἢ διηρηθῆαι . . . πότ' ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀληθές λεγόμενον ἢ ψεῦδος . . . περὶ δὲ δὴ τὰ ἀσύνθετα τί τὸ εἶναι ἢ

μὴ εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἀληθές καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος; . . . ἢ ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀληθές ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ αὐτὸ, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἔστι τὸ μὲν ἀληθές τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος, τὸ μὲν θιγεῖν καὶ φάναι ἀληθές . . . τὸ δ' ἀγνοεῖν μὴ θιγῶναι· ἀπατηθῆναι γὰρ περὶ τὸ τί ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ συλβεβηκός . . . ὅσα δὲ ἔστιν ὅπερ εἶναι καὶ ἐνεργεία, περὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπατηθῆναι ἀλλ' ἢ νοεῖν ἢ μὴ . . . τὸ δὲ ἀληθές τὸ νοεῖν αὐτὰ· τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἀπάτη, ἀλλ' ἀγνοία. According to these passages we should understand by the *προτάσεις ἔμμεσοι*, which express the ultimate principles (*An. Post.* i. 2, 23, 33, 72, a, 7, 84, b, 39, 88, b, 36), only those propositions in which the predicate is already contained in the subject, not those in which it attaches to a subject different from itself: or in other words, only analytical *a priori* judgments. In like manner the *ὁρισμὸς τῶν ἔμμεσων* (*ibid.* ii. 10, 94, a, 9) is a *θέσις τοῦ τί ἔστιν ἀναπόδευκτος*, in which nothing is affirmed as to the existence or non-existence of a conception, nor of its connection with a stated subject. Lastly, when the principle of contradiction (in *Metaph.* iv. 3 sq. 1005, b, 11, 1006, a, 3) is designated as the *βεβαιωτάτη ἀρχὴ πᾶσων* περὶ ἣν διαψευσθῆναι ἀδύνατον, here also only the fundamental principle of all analytical judgments is in question—the formal identity of every conception with itself.

<sup>1</sup> *De An.* iii. 4, 429, a, 27: καὶ εὖ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι τόπον εἰδῶν (see on this ZELLER'S *Plato*), πλὴν ὅτι οὕτε ὅλη ἀλλ'

thinkable.<sup>1</sup> This contained knowledge, however, can only become actual knowledge in the active exercise of cognition. It follows, therefore, that, prior to experience, it cannot be in the soul except in the way of a possibility and a basis; and so, according to him, it is, in virtue of the fact that the soul has the faculty of forming its notions out of itself by its own inherent activity.<sup>2</sup>

ἡ νοητικὴ, ὅτε ἐντελεχεία ἀλλὰ  
δυνάμει τὰ εἶδη.

<sup>1</sup> *De An.* iii. 8 *init.*: νῦν δὲ  
περὶ ψυχῆς τὰ λεχθέντα συγκε-  
φαλαιώσαντες ἐπὶ μὲν πάλιν ὅτι ἡ  
ψυχὴ τὰ ὄντα πῶς ἐστὶ πάντα. ἡ  
γὰρ αἰσθητὰ τὰ ὄντα ἢ νοητὰ, ἐστὶ  
δ' ἡ ἐπιστήμη μὲν τὰ ἐπιστητὰ πως,  
ἢ δ' αἰσθησις τὰ αἰσθητὰ. (Cf. ii.  
5 *fin.* iii. 7 *init.*)

<sup>2</sup> *De An.* iii. 4, 429, a, 15 :  
ἀπαθὲς ἔρα δεῖ εἶναι [before the  
Nous experiences the effect of  
the νοητῶν, it must be without  
πάθος; cf. BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 72, a,  
36 sqq.], δεκτικὸν δὲ τοῦ εἶδους  
καὶ δυνάμει τοιοῦτον [sc. οἷον τὸ  
εἶδος] ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο, καὶ ὁμοίως  
ἔχειν, ὥσπερ τὸ αἰσθητικὸν πρὸς τὰ  
αἰσθητὰ, οὕτω τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὰ  
νοητὰ. . . ὁ ἔρα καλούμενος τῆς  
ψυχῆς νοῦς. . . οὐθὲν ἐστὶν ἐνεργεία  
τῶν ὄντων πρὶν νοεῖν . . . καὶ εὖ δὴ  
etc. (*vid. supr.* p. 198, n. 1). *Ibid.*  
b, 30 : δυνάμει πῶς ἐστὶ τὰ νοητὰ ὁ  
νοῦς, ἀλλ' ἐντελεχεία οὐδὲν, πρὶν  
ἂν νοῇ. δεῖ δ' οὕτως ὥσπερ ἐν  
γραμματέλει φ' μηθὲν ὑπάρχει ἐντε-  
λεχεία γεγραμμένον. ὅπερ συμβαίνει  
ἐπὶ τοῦ νοῦ. Here (b, 5) and in  
ii. 5, 417, a, 21 sqq. a still more  
accurate distinction is made  
between two meanings of the  
δυνάμει : we can call a man δυνάμει  
ἐπιστήμων not only when he has as

yet learned nothing, but possesses  
the capacity for learning some-  
thing, but also when he knows  
something, but has not at a  
given moment this knowledge  
actually present to his mind. It  
was in the latter sense that  
Plato conceived of innate know-  
ledge, whereas Aristotle conceived  
of it under the former analogy.  
This is the meaning of his com-  
parison of the soul with the book  
that is not yet written on : and it  
was a misapprehension when this  
comparison was understood in  
the sense of the later Sensa-  
tion-theory of knowledge. (Cf.  
HEGEL, *Gesch. d. Phil.* ii. 342  
sq.; TRENDLENBURG, on this  
passage, p. 485 sq.) Aristotle  
only wants to illustrate by it the  
difference between the δυνάμει  
and ἐνεργεία. He does not here  
go on to inform us in what way  
potential knowledge becomes  
actual. But, according to what  
has gone before (429, a, 15), it is  
not the αἰσθητὰ but the νοητὰ by  
whose action the tablet of the  
νοῦς, blank in itself, is written  
upon, so that we have to deal  
in fact with a theory far re-  
moved from the Sensation-  
philosophy.

Throughout his whole treatment of this question, there runs a certain obscurity, the grounds of which we can of course indicate, but which we cannot altogether remove without doing violence to the statements of the Master himself. On the one hand, Aristotle contests the possibility of *any* innate knowledge, and insists that all our notions arise out of perception.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, he speaks of an immediate knowledge of those truths on which all others depend,<sup>2</sup> and allows that all the knowledge which in the course of our lives we gain lay in our soul from the beginning in germ.<sup>3</sup> Of course, this last view is not to be taken to imply that the soul, prior to all experience, carried in itself the said knowledge in so far as the content thereof is concerned, or that the function of such experience was merely to cause it to be brought out into consciousness.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 195 sq., 205 sq.

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than the thought that the soul is everything inasmuch as it is capable of having the forms (or images) of all things within itself. That it produces them out of itself is not stated. On the contrary, as the power of perception is called εἶδος αἰσθητῶν, because it receives into itself the forms of the αἰσθητὰ, so the νοῦς may, in the same sense, be called εἶδος εἰδῶν, inasmuch as it is the faculty to receive the insensible forms; and τόπος εἰδῶν (p. 198, n. 1) may be taken in the same sense. The statement that 'universals are in the soul itself' (in *De An.* ii. 5, cited at p. 197, n. 2), occurs in a passage which has no reference to the growth of knowledge in itself, but where Aristotle is endeavouring to illustrate the progress from the power of perception to

For this would take us back again to the theory of innate ideas which Aristotle so decidedly rejects.<sup>1</sup> It would be equally wrong, however, to make him a pure Empiricist, and attribute to him the view that the Universal, 'without any limitation, comes to the soul from the external world.'<sup>2</sup> If this were his view, he could not possibly have derived the highest concepts of all—the *principia* of all knowledge—from that faculty of immediate cognition by which the *Nous* is, according to him, distinguished from all other forms of thinking activity.<sup>3</sup> For it is plain that concepts which we can only come at by an ascent from individuals to universals, cannot be the data of any immediate kind of knowledge, but must be data of that kind of knowledge which is the most entirely mediate of all. Our cognitive faculties, he asserts, do, in fact, take this way to arrive at these *principia*; but he cannot have regarded the thoughts in which these *principia* come for us into consciousness as the mere precipitate of a progressively refined experience, or the act by which we present them to ourselves as only the last of these successive gene-

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realisations upon a matter given in experience. Each of these generalisations consists in an induction,<sup>1</sup> the result of which can only be expressed as a judgment and a conclusion, and which therefore is, like all judgments, either false or true. But, on the other hand, the activity of the *Nous* in knowledge is by him distinguished from all mediate cognition, and what we attain by it is not judgments but ideas—not that which may be either false or true, but that which is always true—that which we may either have or not have, but as to which, if we have it, we cannot be deceived.<sup>2</sup> So, again, as all induction starts from perception, which has relation to that which is compounded of Form and Matter and is sensible, and as the quality of contingency, the possibility of being and not-being, is inseparable from all that is Matter,<sup>3</sup> therefore by induction alone we can never attain to anything which is unconditionally necessary. For those ideas which rest entirely on experience can have no higher certainty than that on which they rest. But of the knowledge of the *principia*, Aristotle holds that it is of all knowledge the most certain,<sup>4</sup> and he will allow nothing to rank among the *principia* except what is necessarily true.<sup>5</sup> It follows, then, that the immediate knowledge referred to can only be an intuition—and that it can only be a spiritual intuition, as contrasted with all sensible perception. But the spirit of man has not these ideas innate in itself. Therefore, the intuition by

<sup>1</sup> About which see ch. v. *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 197, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *infra* in the second part of ch. vii., and the notes there on these points.

<sup>4</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 2, 71, b, 19, 72, a, 25 sqq.; ii. 19, 100, b, 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 6 *init.*



which it finds them cannot consist in any self-intuition or act of introspection, making us conscious of the *principia* as of a truth already within us.<sup>1</sup> It must be something whereby certain thoughts and ideas arise through an action of that which is thought upon the spirit thinking it, in some way analogous to that in which perception arises through an action of that which is perceived upon the percipient. And Aristotle does, in fact, base himself on this very analogy when he says that the *Nous* is related to the thinkable as sense is to the perceivable;<sup>2</sup> or that it knows the thinkable because it 'touches' it;<sup>3</sup> or that as perception in itself must be always true, so must thought be, in so far as it relates to ideas as such.<sup>4</sup>

In this way we get a theory which is for the moment intelligible and consistent. But the further questions remain wholly unanswered—What is this, by the intuition of which we get the *principia* of all mediate knowledge and the most universal of all ideas and axioms? What kind of being belongs to it? In what way does it act upon our spirit? Of what sort are these *principia* which we so attain? Do all of

<sup>1</sup> This was Zeller's view in his second edition.

<sup>2</sup> *De An.* iii. 4, 429, a, 15; see p.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* ix. 10, 1051, b, 24 (*vid. supr.* p. 197, n. 4): in perception of the *ἀσύνθετα* is τὸ μὲν θιγγεῖν καὶ φάσθαι ἀληθές . . . τὸ δ' ἀγνοεῖν μὴ θιγγάνειν; xii. 7, 1072, b, 20: αὐτὸν δὲ νοεῖ δ νοῦς [the divine νοῦς] κατὰ μετέληψιν τοῦ νοητοῦ [by taking itself as a νοητόν]. νοητὸς γὰρ γίγνεται θιγγάνων καὶ νοῶν. Remembering,

doubtless, the first of these passages, Theophrastus also says in *Fr.* 12 (*Metaph.*) 25: 'If we begin with observation we can, up to a certain point, explain things from their causes: ὅταν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἄκρα μεταβαίνωμεν οὐκ ἐτι δυνάμεθα, either because these have no causes, or because our eye cannot see in a full light, τὰχα δ' ἐκείνο ἀληθέστερον ὡς αὐτῷ τῷ νῷ ἢ θεωρία θιγόντι καὶ ὅλον ἀψαμένῳ.'

<sup>4</sup> *De An.* iii. 6 *fin.*; cited *supr.* p. 197, n. 4.

them merely express the formal laws of thought (as does the law of contradiction), or are there also metaphysical ideas which are so given, such as the ideas of Being, of Cause, of God? This might prove to be a natural conclusion from the theory of Aristotle; but it would take us very near to the Platonic teaching as to the intuition of the Ideas, except that, since for Aristotle the 'Forms' of things could not belong to another world, the intuition of them would necessarily be transferred also from the future to the present.

The final explanation of Aristotle's want of clearness on this subject is, however, to be found in the fact that he *had* only half emancipated himself, as we shall see, from Plato's tendency to hypostatise ideas. The 'Forms' had for him, as the 'Ideas' had for Plato, a metaphysical existence of their own, as conditioning all individual things. And keenly as he followed the growth of ideas out of experience, it is none the less true that these ideas, especially at the point where they are farthest removed from experience and immediate perception, are metamorphosed in the end from a logical product of human thought into an immediate presentment of a supersensible world, and the object, in that sense, of an intellectual intuition.

Plato conceived that the picture of the Ideas which slumbers within us could only awake to any sensible intuition by an actual recollection, and that the spiritual eye could only accustom itself to receive the light of the Ideas by a long course of preparation. So with Aristotle is it self-evident that at the beginning of our spiritual development we are at the

farthest possible distance from that knowledge which is its goal; and that consequently our ascent to knowledge can only come by a gradual approximation to that goal, through a progressive deepening of our comprehension, advancing from particulars to universals, from phenomena to the essence, from effects to causes. Knowledge, which we neither possess as a perfect gift of nature nor derive as a consequence from something higher than itself, must issue out of that which is lower: that is, out of Perception.<sup>1</sup> The development in time of our ideas is therefore exactly the inverse of their logical order. That which is absolutely first is relatively to us last; and whereas by virtue of its nature the universal has greater certainty than the particular, and the principle than the deductions which depend upon it, yet individuals and things of sense have more of certainty for us.<sup>2</sup> And in like manner we find

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 19, 100, a, 10: οὐτε δὴ ἐνυπάρχουσιν ἀφωρισμένοι αἱ εἴσεις (*vid. supr.* 196, n. 1), οὐτ' ἀπ' ἄλλων ἔξεων γίνονται γνωστικωτέρων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ αἰσθήσεως.

<sup>2</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 2, 71, b, 33: πρότερα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ γνωριμώτερα διχῶς· οὐ γὰρ ταῦτόν πρότερον τῇ φύσει καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρότερον οὐδὲ γνωριμώτερον καὶ ἡμῖν γνωριμώτερον· λέγω δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μὲν πρότερα καὶ γνωριμώτερα τὰ ἐγγύτερον τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἅπλως δὲ πρότερα καὶ γνωριμώτερα τὰ πορρώτερον· ἐστὶ δὲ πορρωτέρω μὲν τὰ καθόλου μέληστα, ἐγγυτέρω δὲ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα. *Phys.* i. 1, 184, a, 16: πέφικε δὲ ἐκ τῶν γνωριμωτέρων ἡμῖν ἡ ἀδύναμις καὶ σαφιστέρων ἐπὶ τὰ σαφίστερα τῇ φύσει καὶ γνωριμώτερα· ὥ γὰρ ταῦτά ἡμῖν τὰ γινώμενα καὶ ἁπλῶς:

i. 5 *fin.* Cf. *Metaph.* i. 2, 982, a, 23; v. 11, 1018, b, 29 *sqq.*; vii. 4, 1029, b, 4 *sqq.*; ix. 8, 1050, a, 4; *Top.* vi. 4, 141, b, 3, 22; *De An.* ii. 2 *init.*, iii. 7, *init.*; *Eth.* i. 2, 1095, b, 2. (Still) more forcibly, referring rather, however, to PLATO, *Rep.* vii. *init.* than to ARISTOTLE, is it expressed in *Metaph.* ii. 1. 982, a, 9.) The ἀπλῶς καὶ σαφιστέρων in *Phys.* i. 1: ἐστὶ δ' ἡμῖν τῶν τοῦ ὅλου καὶ καθ' ἕνα τῶν πολλῶν· ἵστανται δ' ἐκ τῶν πορρωτέρων τῶν στοιχείων καὶ ἀρχῶν λαμβάνει ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τῶν καθόλου ἐκ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα λαμβάνονται τὰ γινώμενα καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ σαφιστέρων ἡμῖν τὰ καθόλου ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ σαφιστέρων ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν πορρωτέρων· ὥ γὰρ ταῦτά ἡμῖν τὰ γινώμενα καὶ ἁπλῶς:

representation, for that which has steadily recurred in several perceptions is fixed and retained by the mind. Thus arise in the first place experience, and next, when several experiences have condensed into general principles, art and science<sup>1</sup> also, until at last we reach the most universal principles of all; and of these in like manner a scientific comprehension is only to be gained by a further methodical repetition of the same process—in other words, by induction. The result may be put thus. Plato sought to get at the Idea by turning the mental eye *away from* the phenomenal world, on which, in his view, the most that was to be seen was a reflection of the idea and not the idea itself. Aristotle's theory of the ascent to knowledge rests it, on the contrary, rather upon a striving after the universal element *in* appearances as such. In other words, while both demand abstraction from the immediate data and reflection on the underlying universal, still the relation between the two elements is quite different. To Plato the abstraction from the given

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 19, 100, a, 2: ἐκ μὲν οὖν αἰσθήσεως γίνεται μνήμη, ὥσπερ λέγομεν, ἐκ δὲ μνήμης πολ-  
λάκις τοῦ αὐτοῦ γινομένης ἐμπειρία.  
αἱ γὰρ πολλὰ μνημαὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ  
ἐμπειρία μία ἐστίν. ἐκ δ' ἐμπειρίας ἡ  
ἐκ παντὸς ἡρεμήσαντος τοῦ καθόλου  
ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, τοῦ ἐνὸς παρὰ τὰ πολλὰ,  
ὃ ἂν ἐν ἅπασιν ἐν ἐνῇ ἐκείνοις τὸ  
αὐτὸ, τέχνης ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐπιστήμης,  
ἐὰν μὲν περὶ γένεσιν, τέχνης, ἐὰν  
δὲ περὶ τὸ ὄν, ἐπιστήμης. *Metaph.*  
i. 1, 980, b, 28: γίγνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς  
μνήμης ἐμπειρία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· αἱ  
γὰρ πολλὰ μνημαὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγ-  
ματος μίας ἐμπειρίας δύναμιν ἀπο-  
τελοῦσιν. . . . ἀποβαίνει δ' ἐπιστήμη

καὶ τέχνη διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τοῖς  
ἀνθρώποις . . . γίνεται δὲ τέχνη,  
ὅταν ἐκ πολλῶν τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐνση-  
μάτων μία καθόλου γένηται περὶ τῶν  
ὁμοίων ὑπόληψις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν  
ὑπόληψιν ὅτι καλλίᾳ κάμνοντι τηρεῖ  
τὴν νόσον τοδὶ συνήνεγκε καὶ  
Σωκράτει καὶ καθέκαστον οὕτω  
πολλοῖς, ἐμπειρίας ἐστίν· τὸ δ' ὅτι  
πᾶσι τοῖς τοιοῖσδε κατ' εἶδος ἐν  
ἀφορισθείσῃ, κάμνουσι τηρεῖ τὴν  
νόσον, συνήνεγκεν. . . . τέχνης. In  
the same passages is also found  
more to the like purpose. In  
*Phys.* vii. 3, 247, b, we have, ἐκ  
τῆς κατὰ μέρος ἐμπειρίας τῇ  
καθόλου λαμβάνουεν ἐπιστήμη.

is the first thing, and only on the presupposition of such abstraction will he recognise the possibility of coming to any knowledge of universal essence at all. To Aristotle the *direction* of the mind upon the common essence of the empirical data is the main point, and it is only as an inevitable consequence of this that abstraction from the particulars of sense comes in. For a like reason, Aristotle also defends the truth of the knowledge derived by sensation against the objectors; for he shows that, notwithstanding the contradictions and deceptions of the senses, a true perception is still possible, and that the actuality of what we perceive is beyond doubt, although its value is relative: in a word, that the doubts attaching to sensible perception<sup>1</sup> are due solely to want of caution in the use we make of it.<sup>2</sup> He even maintains that perception of itself never leads us astray, and that it is in our imaginations and our judgments that we are first exposed to error.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* iv. 5, 6, 1010, b, sqq., where, among other things (1010, b, 30 sqq.), it is stated that although we might say in a certain sense that without a perceiving being there would be no αἰσθητὰ as such, still it is impossible to say that without the αἰσθησις the ὑποκείμενα ἃ ποιεῖ τὴν αἰσθησιν could not exist—οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡ γ' αἰσθησις αὐτὴ ἐαυτῆς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τι καὶ ἕτερον παρὰ τὴν αἰσθησιν, ὃ ἀνάγκη πρότερον εἶναι τῆς αἰσθήσεως: τὸ γὰρ κινεῖν τοῦ κινουμένου πρότερον ἐστὶ. Likewise *Cat.* c. 7, 7, b, 36: τὸ γὰρ αἰσθητὸν πρότερον τῆς αἰσθήσεως δοκεῖ εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὸν ἀναρθεῖν συναναρθεῖ τὴν αἰσθησιν, ἡ δὲ αἰσθησις τὸ αἰσθητὸν οὐ συναναρθεῖ . . . ζῆλον

γὰρ ἀναρθεῖντος αἰσθησις μὲν ἀναρθεῖται, αἰσθητὸν δὲ ἔσται, οἷον σῶμα, θερμὸν, γλυκὺ, πικρὸν καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα ἐστὶν αἰσθητὰ.

<sup>2</sup> To this refer *Metaph.* iv. 5, 1010, b, 3 sqq., 14 sqq.; xi. 6, 1062, b, 13 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *De An.* iii. 3. 427, b, 11: ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθησις τῶν ἰδίων αἰσθητῶν καὶ πάντων ὑπάρχει τοῖς ζῴοις, διανοεῖσθαι δ' ἐνδιχεται καὶ ψευδῶς καὶ οὐδενὶ ὑπάρχει ἢ μὴ καὶ λόγος. *Ibid.* 427, a, 11: αἱ μὲν [τῆς αἰσθήσεως] ἀληθεῖς αἰσ., αἱ δὲ φαντασίαι γίνονται αἱ πλάγιαι ψευδεῖς. *Ibid.* 427, b, 11: αἱ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθησις καὶ φαντασία ἡ γὰρ αἰσθησις ἀληθὴς καὶ ἀσφαλὴς ἐστὶν, ἡ δὲ φαντασία ἢ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τῶν ἐν τῇ φαντασίᾳ ὡς ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ φαντασίᾳ.

He shows in fact that simple-minded confidence in the truth of sensible perceptions which is natural to every uncritical consciousness. This is in his case the more easy to understand because he has as little notion as the other Greeks of making any close inquiry into the part which a subjective activity plays in the construction of our experience, and refers it simply to an operation of the objects upon us whereby they impress their images upon the soul;<sup>1</sup> while, on the other hand, the philosopher who attributed so high a value to observation, and the naturalist who required so wide a basis of empirical facts, could hardly be expected to take sufficient account of the attacks which some of his predecessors had made upon the trustworthiness of the senses.<sup>2</sup> Of course he does not seek to deny the delu-

<sup>1</sup> See the account of Aristotle's theory of sensation, *infra*, ch. x. *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> It has been shown at p. 209, n. 1, how Aristotle, in *Cat.* 7, treats as given objectively even those sensible properties which Democritus had already shown to be merely subjective (ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 772, l. 783, 2). Similarly in *Phys.* viii. 3, in combating the opinion (of Parmenides), *πάντα ἡρεμεῖν*, he follows up the striking remark (254, a, 30) that such a view could not explain *δόξα* and *φαντασία* as movements of the soul (it would have been more exact to say 'of the changing series of mental images') with the sweeping observation that to investigate such a view is *ζητεῖν λόγον ὃν βέλτιον ἔχομεν ἢ λόγου δεῖσθαι*, and *κακῶς κρίνειν τὸ πιστὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ πιστὸν καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ μὴ ἀρχήν*. The same objection holds, in his opinion against the theories

that everything is always being moved, or that one thing is always moved and another never. *πρὸς ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἱκανὴ μία πίστις ὁρώμεν γὰρ ἕνια ὅτ' ἐμὲν κινούμενα ὅτ' δ' ἡρεμοῦντα*. *Ibid.* 253, a, 33, in opposing the doctrine *πάντ' ἡρεμεῖν*, he says, *τούτου ζητεῖν λόγον ἀφέντας τὴν αἰσθησιν, ἀρρωστία τίς ἐστὶ διανοίας*, and such speculations seem to him abnormal and unnatural. All such questions as how we know whether we are awake or asleep, whether we are in our sound senses, &c., Aristotle considers altogether misleading: *πάντων γὰρ λόγον ἀξιούσιν εἶναι . . . λόγον γὰρ ζητοῦσθαι οὐκ ἐστὶ λόγος ἀποδείξεως γὰρ ἀρχὴ οὐκ ἀπόδειξις ἐστὶ*. (*Metaph.* iv. 6, 1011, a, 8 sqq. cf. below, p. 247, n. 2). He thinks it a self-evident proposition that we can only decide upon the sensible properties of things—as upon the good and the evil, the beautiful and the

sions of sense, but he believes that our sensations, as such, are not to blame. He holds that each sense represents to us always, or almost always, with truth the special colour, sound, etc., which it perceives, but that illusion first arises in the referring of these properties to definite objects, and in the discriminating of that which is immediately given in perception from that which is only got by abstraction therefrom.<sup>1</sup>

To these views, then, as to the nature or origin of knowledge, the arrangement of Aristotle's theory of scientific knowledge—his *Analytics*—corresponds. It is the function of Science to explain the phenomena by their principles, which must be sought for in the Universal Causes and Laws. The deduction, therefore, of the

ugly—in a normal state of the senses and the mind.

<sup>1</sup> In this sense Aristotle himself illustrates his principle in *De An.* iii. 3, 428, b, 18: ἡ αἰσθησις τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἀληθὴς ἐστίν ἢ ὅτι ὀλίγιστον ἔχουσα τὸ ψεῦδος. δευτέρον δὲ τοῦ συμβεβηκέναι ταῦτα· καὶ ἐν ταῦθα ἥδη ἐνδέχεται διαψεῦσθαι· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ λευκὸν, οὐ ψεύδεται, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λευκὸν, ἢ ἄλλο τι [whether the white thing is, e.g., a cloth or a wall]. ψεύδεται. (So also at the end of c. 6.) τρίτον δὲ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἐπομένων τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, οἷς ὑπάρχει τὰ ἴδια· λέγω δ' οἷον κίνησις καὶ μέγεθος, ἃ συμβέβηκε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς περὶ ἃ μάλιστα ἥδη ἐστὶν ἀπατηθῆναι κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν. (About these κοινὰ see also *De Sensu*, c. i. 437, a, 8.) *De Sensu*, iv. 442, b, 8: περὶ μὲν τούτων [the κοινὰ just mentioned] ἀπατῶνται, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων οὐκ ἀπατῶνται, οἷον ὅψις περὶ χρώματος καὶ ἀκοή περὶ ψόφου. *Meta.* iv.

5, 1010, b, 14. We can only trust the deliverance of each sense with regard to its own particular objects, those of sight with regard to colour, &c.: ὡς [αἰσθήσεων] ἐκάστη ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐδέποτε φησὶν ἅμα οὕτω καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχειν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ἐτέρῳ χρόνῳ περὶ τὸ πάθος ἡμφισβήτησεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὸ ᾧ συμβέβηκε τὸ πάθος. The same wine may taste to us at one time sweet, at another not: ἀλλ' οὐ τό γε γλυκὺ οἶον ἐστὶν ὅταν βῇ, οὐδε πώποτε μετέβαλεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἀληθεύει περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἐσόμενον γλυκὺ τοιοῦτον. Perception shows us primarily (as has been already said on pp. 206-7) only certain sets of qualities. The subjects to which these qualities belong are not immediately and exclusively determined by perception; nor are those other properties which are only inferred from what we perceive.

particular from the universal and of effects from causes, or in one word *Demonstration*, forms the task of Science : for in such deduction, according to Aristotle, consists all Proof. The premises, however, from which these deductive proofs must start cannot be themselves deduced by the same method. Nor are they immediately given in any innate kind of knowledge. It is only by working upwards from phenomena that we can reach the principles that underlie them : only from particulars that we can rise to universals. To do this scientifically is the business of *Induction*. Demonstration and Induction are accordingly the two component parts of the scientific process, and the essential subjects of Methodology. Both, however, presuppose the general elements of Thought, and cannot be explained without a knowledge of them. Aristotle, therefore, prefaces his theory of Proof with an examination of the Syllogism ; and in connection with this he finds himself compelled to go more closely into the nature of the Judgment and the Proposition, as being the component parts of the Syllogism. It was not till a later period of his work (as we have already explained) that he went on to treat them separately, and even then this part of his Logic remained distinctly undeveloped. The same remark applies still more strongly to his doctrine of Concepts.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, it is with these last that we must begin, in order to proceed thereafter to the theory of judgments, and lastly to the Syllogism—inasmuch as certain definite views as to concepts are always presupposed by Aristotle in his discussion of Syllogistic Logic.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 192 sqq.



It was the search for general concepts which gave to philosophy under Socrates that new direction which not only Plato but also Aristotle followed in all essentials. As a natural result of this, we find that Aristotle, generally speaking, takes for granted the Socratico-Platonic theory of the nature of concepts and the problem of abstract thought.<sup>1</sup> But as we shall find him in his metaphysics contradicting Plato's doctrine of the independent reality of the Universal which we think in the Concept, so also in the matter of the logical handling of concepts he feels it necessary in connection with this criticism to obtain more accurate and definite conclusions on many points.<sup>2</sup> Plato had required that in conceptual definition attention should be restricted to the essential as opposed to the accidental properties of things;<sup>3</sup> and yet at the same time he had exalted all general notions to an absolute independence as Ideas, without any further distinction between conceptions of property and substance.<sup>4</sup> This distinction Aristotle introduces, for to him, as we shall see, the individual thing alone is Substance. But he does not merely separate the accidental from the essential.<sup>5</sup> He goes on

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 162 sq. and 172 sq.

<sup>2</sup> For the following, besides PRANTL (*Gesch. d. Log.* i. 210 sqq.), and the other general works, cf. KUHN, *De Notionis Definitione qual. Arist. constituerit*, Halle, 1844; RASSOW, *Arist. de Notionis Definitione Doctrina*, Berl. 1843.

<sup>3</sup> See ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. p. 518 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 584 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> As to the distinction of the *συμβεβηκός* from the *καθ' αὐτὸ*

cf. *Anal. Post.* i. 4, 73, a, 34 sqq.; *Top.* i. 5, 102, b, 4; *Metaph.* v. 7, c. 9 *init.*, c. 18, 1002, a, 24 sqq., c. 30, 1025, a, 14, 28, c. 6 *init.*; WAITZ, in *Categ.* 5, b, 16; *Anal. Post.* 71, b, 10. According to these passages everything belongs to any object '*καθ' αὐτὸ*' which is, mediately or immediately, contained in the concept of that object; and all is '*κατὰ συμβεβηκός*' which does not follow from the concept. To be a biped belongs to any man *καθ' αὐτὸ*,

to make a further subdivision of the latter head by distinguishing the Universal from the Genus, and both from the Concept or conceptual Essence of things.<sup>1</sup> A *Universal* is everything that appertains to several objects in common, not merely by accident, but by virtue of their nature.<sup>2</sup> If this common element is a qualification of the essence derived from some other more general, then the Universal is a property-concept, and indicates an essential property.<sup>3</sup> If it is of the essence of the things in question, then the Universal becomes a *Genus*.<sup>4</sup> If to the common distinguishing

for every man, as such, is a biped. To be educated is to him *κατὰ συμβεβηκός*. A *συμβεβηκός* is (*Top.* *ibid.*) *ὃ ἐνδέχεται ὑπάρχειν ὁμοῦ ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ὑπάρχειν*. Hence, what is said of a thing *καθ' αὐτὸ* is true of all things which fall under the same concept; but what is said *κ. συμβεβηκός* is only true in particular cases; and therefore all universal determinations are *καθ' αὐτό*. *Metaph.* v. 9, 1017, b, 35: τὰ γὰρ καθόλου καθ' αὐτὰ ὑπάρχει, τὰ δὲ συμβεβηκότα οὐ καθ' αὐτὰ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα ἀπλῶς λέγεται. Cf. note 2, below. For more about the *συμβεβηκός*, see the second part of ch. vii., *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> Thus *Metaph.* vii. 3 *init.*: οὐσία in common usage means many different things: τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι καὶ τὸ καθόλου καὶ τὸ γένος . . . καὶ τέταρτον τοῦτων τὸ ὑποκείμενον.

<sup>2</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 4, 73, b, 26: καθόλου δὲ λέγω ὃ ἂν κατὰ παντός τε ὑπάρχῃ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἢ αὐτό. φανερόν ὅρα ὅτι ὅσα καθόλου ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχει τοῖς πράγμασιν; *Part. An.* i. 4, 644, a, 24: τὰ δὲ καθόλου κοινά· τὰ γὰρ πλείοσιν ὑπάρχοντα καθόλου λέγομεν. (Like-

wise *Metaph.* vii. 13, 1038, b, 11.) Cf. last note but one.

<sup>3</sup> Such an essential quality Aristotle calls a *καθ' αὐτὸ ὑπάρχον*, a *πάθος καθ' αὐτὸ*, or a *συμβεβηκός καθ' αὐτὸ*, understanding in the last case by *συμβεβηκός* (the term being used in a sense different from that discussed above) broadly that *ὃ συμβαίνει τινι*, i.e. a quality; cf. *Metaph.* v. 30 *fin.* c. 7, 1017, a, 12, iii. 1, 995, b, 18, 25, c. 2, 997, a, 25 sqq. iv. 1, iv. 2, 1004, b, 5, vi. 1, 1025, b, 12, vii. 4, 1029, b, 13; *Anal. Post.* i. 22, 83, b, 11, 19, c. 4, 73, b, 5, c. 6, 75, a, 18, c. 7, 75, a, 42; *Phys.* i. 3, 186, b, 18, ii. 2, 193, b, 26, c. 3, 195, b, 13, iii. 4, 203, b, 33; *De An.* i. 1, 402, b, 16; *Rhet.* i. 2, 1355, b, 30; WAITZ, on *Anal. Post.* 71, b, 10; TRENDLENBURG, *De An.* 189 sq.; BONITZ, on *Metaph.* 1025, a.

<sup>4</sup> *Top.* i. 5, 102, a, 31: γένος δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ πλείονων καὶ διαφερόντων τῷ εἶδει ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι κατηγορούμενον. ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι δὲ κατηγορεῖσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα λεγέσθω, ὅσα ἀρμόττει ἀποδοῦναι ἐρωτηθέντα τί ἐστὶ τὸ προκείμενον (e.g. in a man: τί ἐστὶ; ζῶον). *Metaph.* v. 28,

qualities included in the notion of the Genus are added other marks which are again essential with reference to a certain part of the whole class, and by which such part is distinguished from the rest of the same Genus, then we arrive at the *Species*, which, accordingly, is made up of the Genus and the *specific differences*.<sup>1</sup> If,

1024, a, 36 sqq., where, among different meanings of *γένος*, the following are given: τὸ ὑποκειμενὸν ταῖς διαφοραῖς, τὸ πρῶτον ἐν-  
υπαρξὸν δὲ λέγεται ἐν τῇ τί ἐστι.  
... οὗ διαφορὰ λέγονται αἰ ποῦτή-  
τες (that these two descriptions  
apply to the same meaning of  
γένος is shown by Bonitz on this  
passage). *Ibid.* x. 3, 1054, b, 30:  
λέγεται δὲ γένος δ' ὅψω ταῦτ'  
λέγονται κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὰ δι-  
αφορά; x. 8, 1057, b, 37: τὸ γὰρ  
τοιούτων γένος καλὰ, φ' ὅψω ἐν  
ταῦτ' λέγεται, μὴ κατὰ συμβεβη-  
κὸν διαφορὰν. *Top.* vii. 2, 153, a,  
17: κατηγορεῖται δ' ἐν τῇ τί ἐστὶ  
τὰ γένη καὶ αἱ διαφορὰ. Every  
γένος is consequently a καθόλου,  
but not every καθόλου a γένος; cf.  
*Metaph.* iii. 3, 998, b, 17, 999, a,  
21, xii. 1, 1069, a, 27, &c., with  
i. 9, 992, b, 12, vii. 13, 1038, b,  
16, 25 sq.; and BONITZ on  
*Metaph.* 299 sqq. To the dis-  
tinction between genus and pro-  
perty is also partly referable the  
statement in *Categ.* c. 2, 1, a, 20  
sq. c. 5, that everything either  
(1) καθ' ὑποκειμένον τινὸς λέγεται,  
ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐστίν, or (2)  
ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ μὲν ἐστὶ καθ' ὑποκει-  
μένον δὲ οὐδενὸς λέγεται, or (3) καθ'  
ὑποκειμένον τὸς λέγεται καὶ ἐν ὑποκει-  
μένῳ ἐστίν, or (4) οὐτ' ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ  
ἐστίν οὐτε καθ' ὑποκειμένον λέγεται.  
Of these divisions, the fourth  
comprises particular things: the  
first refers to genera and the

3, a, 21) specific differences: the second to properties, activities and conditions—in fact, the *συμβεβηκότα*. To the first belongs the term ‘man,’ to the second the term ‘grammar,’ and to the fourth the term ‘Socrates.’ But the uncertainty of the whole division immediately appears in the description of the third class, for if there are notions which are predicated both καὶ ὑποκειμένου and ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ—i.e. which are at once genera and properties (the example Aristotle gives is the concept of ‘science,’ which is in the soul as its ὑποκείμενον, and is also predicated of each of the particular sciences)—then the genera and properties cannot be distinct and co-ordinate classes of universals. How undefined was the boundary between a ‘genus’ and a ‘property’ will be seen also in his treatment of Substance (on which see the first part of ch. vii., *infra*).

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* x. 7, 1957, b, 7: *ἐκ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν διαφορῶν τὴν εἶδη* (for instance, the specific concepts 'black' and 'white' are made up of the generic terms, 'chromia' and the corresponding qualities 'blackness' and 'whiteness': *ἐκ τῶν χρωμάτων καὶ τῶν διαφορῶν τὴν εἶδη τῶν χρωμάτων*, black is the chromia, whiteness also. *Top.* ii. 1. 12. 2. 25. 26. *ἡ δὲ ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν ἐκ τῶν γενῶν καὶ τῶν διαφορῶν τὴν εἶδη τῶν χρωμάτων*).

finally, an object is in this way, by the aggregate of its distinctive marks, so defined that the definition as a whole is applicable to no other object, then we have its *Concept*.<sup>1</sup> The object of the Concept is therefore the

what belongs to a genus from every other], τὴν δὲ διαφορὰν ἀπὸ τῶς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει. *Ibid.* vi. 6, 143, b, 8, 19. (Further instances of the manner of using *διαφορὰ* are given by WAITZ, *Arist. Org.* i. 279; BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 192, a, 23.)—These distinguishing marks of species, Aristotle calls *διαφορὰ εἰδοποιὸς* (*Top.* vi. 6, 143, b, 7; *Eth.* x. 3, 1174, b, 5). From other properties he distinguishes them by their being able to be predicated of a subject (καθ' ὑποκειμένου λέγονται), but not being in a subject (ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ οὐκ εἶσσι)—i.e. they do not subsist in a subject which would exist before themselves, or which might be conceived independently of them, but in one which *by* them alone is this definite subject (*Cat.* 5, 3, a, 21 sq.; cf. c. 2, 1, a, 24 sq.); they are not accidental but essential determinations (*Metaph.* vii. 4, 1029, b, 14, 1030, a, 14; *Top.* vi. 6, 144, a, 24: οὐδεμία γὰρ διαφορὰ τῶν κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ὑπαρχόντων ἐστὶ, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὸ γένος· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τὴν διαφορὰν ὑπάρχειν τινὶ καὶ μὴ ὑπάρχειν); they belong to the concept of the subject of which they are affirmed, and hence everything that is implied in them is also true of the species and of the individuals to which they belong (*Cat.* c. 5, 3, a, 21 sqq. b, 5). It can hence be said of them, that they (together with the genus) 'form the substance' (*Metaph.* vii. 12, 1038, b, 19: cf. following note)

and that they 'express something substantial' (*Top.* vii. 2, *vid. sup.* p. 214, n. 4; and yet, looked at in themselves, they are not substances but qualities, for they express not a *τί*, but a *ποιόν τι* (*Top.* iv. 2, 122, b, 16, c. 6, 128, a, 26, vi. 6, 144, a, 18, 21; *Phys.* v. 2, 226, a, 27; *Metaph.* v. 14 *init.*). The apparent contradiction between Aristotle's different statements on the subject (brought out by TRENDELENBURG, *Hist. Beitr. z. Phil.* i. 56 sqq., and BONITZ, on *Metaph.* v. 14) may be solved in the manner indicated; cf. WAITZ, *ut supra*.

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 96, a, 24. Many properties of things are also accidental to other things which fall under the same genus. Τὰ δὴ τοιαῦτα λεπτύνειν [in the determination of concepts] μέχρι τούτου, ἕως τοσαῦτα λεπτῆς πρῶτον, ὧν ἕκαστον μὲν ἐπὶ πλείον ὑπάρχει [is accidental also to other things], ἅπαντα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον. ταύτην γὰρ ἀνάγκη οὐσίαν εἶναι τοῦ πράγματος—which will be further illustrated below. *Ibid.* 97, a, 18: we get the concept (λόγος τῆς οὐσίας) of a given object by dividing the genus into its species, and then the species to which our object belongs into its sub-species, and thus proceeding till we arrive at a group ὧν μηδεὶς ἐστὶ διαφορὰ, i.e. that which is indivisible into any farther sets of opposed species, to one or other of which the object in question would belong (but about the actual tenableness of this

Substance, or more accurately the determinate Substance or peculiar Essence of the things in question ;<sup>1</sup> and the

theory, cf. BONITZ, *Arist. Metaph.* ii. 346, 1). So also *Metaph.* vii. 12, 1037, b, 29: οὐθὲν γὰρ ἑτερόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ὁρισμῷ, πλὴν τὸ τε πρῶτον λεγόμενον γένος καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ (or as it stands 1038, a, 8: ὁ ὁρισμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ τῶν διαφορῶν λόγος). The genus is divided into its species, the latter into their sub-species, and this is continued ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ εἰς τὰ ἀδιάφορα (*ibid.* l. 15); and since in this series every subsequent *differentia* includes the preceding one (e.g. the δίκουον includes the δρόκουον), therefore the intermediate terms which fall between the genus and the lowest specific difference do not need to be repeated in the definition (cf. also *Part. An.* i. 2 *init.*). So it follows (*Met.* *ibid.* 1038, a, 28): ὅτι ἡ τελευταία διαφορά ἢ οὐσία τοῦ πράγματος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ὁρισμὸς: in which, however, we have to understand by the τελευταία διαφορά, not only the last specific difference as such, but the specific concept as determined by it, which embraces the higher species and the genus.

<sup>1</sup> For the designation of that which is thought of in the concept, Aristotle makes use of various expressions. Besides οὐσία and εἶδος (of which we shall have more to say in dealing with the *Metaphysics*), we have to notice in this connection his way of marking out the idea which a word expresses by placing a *ὑπερ* before it, as: ὑπερ ὅν, or ὑπερ ἓν (*Phys.* 3, 186, a, 32 sqq.), for 'Being, as such,' or 'One, as such' (cf. BONITZ, *Ind. Arist.* 533, b, 36 sqq.); and also his

special use of εἶναι with a dative annexed (for instance, τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι, &c., τὸ ἐνὶ εἶναι τὸ ἀδιαίρετῳ ἐστὶν εἶναι, *Metaph.* x. 1, 1052, b, 16: οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ σοὶ εἶναι τὸ μουσικῷ εἶναι, *ibid.* vii. 4, 1029, b, 14, cf. *Ind. Ar.* 221, a, 34); and the phrase τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι.—In the second of these expressions the dative must (according to TRENDLENBURG, *Rh. Mus.* 1828, 481; SCHWEGLER, *Ar. Metaph.* iv. 371) be taken possessively, so that ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι is equivalent to εἶναι τοῦτο ὃ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ = 'to be that which belongs to man'; and so τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι designates the manner of being that is peculiar to man = 'Man's Being'; whereas ἄνθρωπον εἶναι only signifies the condition of one who is a man, or the actual participation in human nature. For the proof of this explanation such passages as the following will serve: τὸ εἶναι αὐτῷ ἑτερον, τὸ ζῆν τοῖς ζῶσι τὸ εἶναι ἐστὶν (BONITZ, *Ind. Ar.* 221, a, 42, 54 sq., *Arist. Stud.* iv. 377). The fact that the article is never put before the dative (for Aristotle does not say τὸ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι) does not stand in the way; for the τῷ in this case after τὸ would be very awkward as a matter of diction; and moreover this very omission of the article makes it clearer that in the ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι we are dealing with that 'being' which belongs to man *as such*.—The τί ἦν εἶναι is also, as a rule, construed with the dative of the object (τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι ἐκδότης, &c.; cf. *Ind. Ar.* 764, a, 60 sq.); for it is (as ALEX. says, in *Schol.* 256, b, 14 on *Top.* 24 m.)

Concept itself is nothing else but *the thought of this*

equivalent to  $\delta \tau \acute{\iota} \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \tau \acute{o} \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$   $\alpha \upsilon \tau \omega$  δηλών λόγος. But to this account must be added the explanation of the force of the peculiar imperfect, which is meant to designate that in things which does not belong to the moment, but which throughout the whole course of their existence has represented their proper *esse*, i.e. the essential as distinguished from the contingent and transitory. (Cf. PLATO, *Theat.* 156, A: the Heracliteans maintain  $\acute{o} \varsigma \tau \acute{o} \pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \kappa \iota \nu \eta \sigma \iota \varsigma \eta \nu$  και άλλο οὐδέν, and other examples *apud* SCHWEGLER, *ut supra*, 373 sq.). Hence  $\tau \acute{o} \tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  ἀνθρώπῳ properly means, 'that which in a man was his proper *esse*,' the true 'being' of man, that belonging to him which is also called the πρώτη οὐσία ἴδιος ἐκάστῳ (*Metaph.* vii. 13, 1038, b, 10; vii. 7, *vid. inf.*; vii. 5 *fin.*) But this is simply his Ideal Being, that of which we think, when we abstract from what is contingent to the phenomenal man before us, and from the material element on which that contingency rests; cf. *Metaph.* vii. 4, 1029, b, 19:  $\acute{\epsilon} \nu \phi \acute{\alpha} \rho \alpha \mu \eta \acute{\epsilon} \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \lambda \acute{o} \gamma \omega \alpha \upsilon \tau \acute{o}$ , λέγοντι αὐτό, οὗτος δὲ λόγος τοῦ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  ἐκάστῳ. So ch. 7, 1032, b, 14: λέγω δ' οὐσίαν ἄνευ ὕλης τὸ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$ . *Ibid.* xii. 9, 1075, a, 1: ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ποιητικῶν ἄνευ ὕλης ἡ οὐσία και τὸ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  [sc. τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστὶ]. And ch. 8, 1074, a, 35: τὸ δὲ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  οὐκ ἔχει ὕλην τὸ πρῶτον ἐντελέχεια γάρ. The  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$ , therefore, goes with the εἶδος. *Metaph.* vii. 7, 1032, b, 1: εἶδος δὲ λέγω τὸ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  ἐκάστου και τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν. *Ibid.* ch. 10, 1035, b, 32: εἶδος δὲ λέγω τὸ  $\tau \acute{\iota}$

$\eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$ . *Phys.* ii. 2, 194, a, 20: τοῦ εἶδους και τοῦ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$ . In *Phys.* ii. 3, 194, b, 26: one of the four causes is τὸ εἶδος και τὸ παράδειγμα· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν δὲ λόγος δ τοῦ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  και τὰ τούτου γένη—this being what Aristotle, in *Metaph.* i. 3, 983, a, 27, calls τὴν οὐσίαν και τὸ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$ , but immediately afterwards τὸν λόγον also. In fact, all these expressions are constantly interchanged by him. Compare, for example, the *De An.* ii. 1, 412, b, 10, where οὐσία ἢ κατὰ τὸν λόγον is explained by τὸ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$ ; *Metaph.* vi. 1, 1025, b, 28: τὸ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  και τὸν λόγον; vii. 5, 1030, b, 26: τὸ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  και δὲ ὁρισμός (similarly *Part. An.* i. 1, 642, a, 25, cf. *Phys.* ii. 2, *ut supra*); *Eth.* ii. 6, 1107, a, 6: κατὰ μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν και τὸν λόγον τὸν  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  λέγοντα.—The  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  stands to the simple  $\tau \acute{\iota} \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota$  as the particular and definite to the universal and indefinite. Whilst ' $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$ ' only designates the form or peculiar being of a thing, the question, ' $\tau \acute{\iota} \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota$ ;' may be answered by giving either the matter only or that which includes both matter and form, or even by giving merely a property; and even when it is answered by giving the ideal form, the answer need not embrace the whole concept of the thing, but may be confined to the genus, or the specific difference (the proof of this is given by SCHWEGLER, *Arist. Metaph.* iv. 375 sqq.). The  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  is, consequently, a definite species of the  $\tau \acute{\iota} \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota$  (hence *De An.* iii. 6, 430, b, 28: τοῦ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota$  κατὰ τὸ  $\tau \acute{\iota} \eta \nu \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \iota$  = 'Being on its essential side'); and thus, as very com-

*Essence.*<sup>1</sup> And this is arrived at by the process of making the Universal of the Genus determinate by means of the aggregate of distinguishing marks.<sup>2</sup> But

monly happens in Aristotle, the latter may be used in the narrower meaning of the *τί ἦν εἶναι*, whereas the other phrase never has the looser sense of the *τί ἐστι*, so as to designate merely the matter of the thing or a mere property, or a generic universal without the specific differences.—The like relation exists between *εἶναι* with the dative and *εἶναι* with the accusative: τὸ λευκῷ εἶναι designates the idea of what is white: τὸ λευκὸν εἶναι, the property of being white. Cf. SCHWEGLER, *loc. cit.* p. 370; *Phys.* iii. 5, 204, a, 23, *et alibi*.—Aristotle undoubtedly introduced the formula τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι. Even if Stilpo really used it (see ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 223, 3), he probably took it from Aristotle. Again, Antisthenes could hardly have used the mere *τί ἦν* to designate the concept: at least, this does not follow from the references in ZELL. *ibid.* p. 252, n. 1.—The following writers treat at length of the *τί ἦν εἶναι* and the allied phrases: TRENDLENBURG (who was the first to examine this subject thoroughly), *Rhein. Mus. v. Niebuhr und Brandis*, ii. (1828), 457 sqq.; *De Anima*, 192 sqq., 471 sqq.; *Hist. Beitr.* i. 34 sqq.; SCHWEGLER, *ut supra*, 369 sqq. (who cites other authors); HERTLING, *Mat. u. Form. b. Arist.* 47 sq.

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 3, 90, b, 30, 91, a, 1: *δρισμὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τί ἐστι καὶ οὐσίας . . . δ μὲν οὖν δρισμὸς τί ἐστι δηλοῖ. Ibid.* ii. 10 *init.*: *δρισμὸς . . . λέγεται εἶναι λόγος τοῦ τί ἐστι.* (The same *ibid.*

94, a, 11.) *Top.* vii. 5, 154, a, 31: *δρισμὸς ἐστι λόγος δ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι σημαίνων. Metaph.* v. 8, 1017, b, 21: τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι οὐδ' ὁ λόγος δρισμὸς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐσία λέγεται ἐκάστων. So also vii. 4, 1030, a, 6, cf. a, 16, b, 4, and ch. 5, 1030, b, 26; also *Part. An.* i. 1, 642, a, 25. Hence Aristotle also designates the concept (in the subjective meaning) by the expressions: *δ λόγος δ δρίζων τὴν οὐσίαν* (*Part. An.* iv. 5, 678, a, 34), *δ λόγος δ τί ἐστι λέγων* (*Metaph.* v. 13, 1020, a, 18) and similar phrases. (*Δόγος* or *λόγος τῆς οὐσίας*, in relation to the objective meaning of *λόγος*, stands for the form or the Being of things: *e.g. Gen. An.* i. 1, 715, a, 5, 8; *De An.* i. 1, 403, b, 2; ii. 2, 414, a, 9, &c.; and cf. preceding note.)—By the nature of the case *δρος* is synonymous with *δρισμὸς*, *e.g.* in *Top.* i. 5 *init.*: *ἐστι δ' ὅρος μὲν λόγος δ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι σημαίνων.* So ch. 4, 101 b, 21, and ch. 7, 103, a, 25; *Anal. Post.* i. 3, 72, b, 23; ii. 10, 97, b, 26; *Metaph.* vii. 5, 1031, a, 8; ch. 13, 1039, a, 19; viii. 3, 1043, b, 28; ch. 6, 1045, a, 26; *Poet.* ch. 6, 1449, b, 23. But the same word, in a further sense, signifies either of the two terms of a proposition (subject and predicate), and is therefore the standing expression for the three terms of the syllogism; *Anal. Pri.* i. 1, 24, b, 16: *ὅρον δὲ καλῶ εἰς δὲν διαλύεται ἡ πρότασις*, etc., ch. 4, 25, b, 32, ch. 10, 80, b, 31, ch. 34, 48, a, 2; *Anal. Post.* i. 10, 76, b, 35 *et supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 215, n. 1, 216, n. 1. Aristotle expresses the relation





the Concept of any object,<sup>1</sup> yet it is not *this object* of sense itself, but only *this determinate mode* of sensible existence, only the universal form of the object, which can be defined.<sup>2</sup> It follows as a consequence of this that the conception does not relate to individual objects of sense<sup>3</sup> as such; but this applies also to all Individuals in general. Knowledge, in fact, aims always at a Universal,<sup>4</sup> and the words of which a definition is made up are themselves general terms.<sup>5</sup> Each concept

οὐκ ἔστιν ὁρισμὸς ἀλλὰ μετὰ νοήσεως ἢ αἰσθήσεως γνωρίζονται, ἀπελθόντας [-τα] δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐντελεχείας οὐ δῆλον πότερόν ποτε εἶσιν ἢ οὐκ εἶσιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ λέγονται καὶ γνωρίζονται τῷ καθόλου λόγῳ· ἢ δ' ὅλη ἔγνωστος καθ' αὐτήν.

<sup>1</sup> As in the concept of the house (*Metaph.* vii. 15, see preceding note), the soul, the axe (*De An.* i. 403, b, 2: ii. 1, 412, b, 11), of the *σῶμα* (*Metaph.* vii. 5, &c.), in fact in all concepts of material and natural things. Cf. *Phys.* ii. 9 *fin.*: although the material causes are subservient to the ideal or final causes, still in explaining natural phenomena we must give both; ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον [*i.e.* because the physical or material causes belong to the concepts of things]. ὁρισμὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐργον τοῦ πρίν, ὅτι διαίρεσις τοιαυτή· αὐτὴ δ' οὐκ ἔσται, εἰ μὴ ἔξει ὁδόντας τοιουσδ'· οὗτοι δ' οὐ, εἰ μὴ σιδηροῦς. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐνιαμόρια ὡς ὅλη τοῦ λόγου. Cf. *Metaph.* vii. 10, 1035, a, 1, b, 14, and ch. 11, 1037, a, 29.

<sup>2</sup> If on the one hand we deny that matter belongs to the concept of a thing, and on the other are obliged to admit that

numberless things cannot be defined without giving their matter, this seems, at first sight, a contradiction. In the passage referred to (*Metaph.* vii. 10) Aristotle seeks to escape this contradiction by saying that in such cases, not this individual object, formed by the combination of a specific concept with this definite matter, is defined, but only its form; it is not *this* circle, but *the* circle, or the *κύκλω εἶναι*, not *this* soul, but *the* soul, the *ψυχῇ εἶναι*. But the difficulty is, indeed, by no means removed in this way. If, for instance, the soul is the 'Entelechy' of an organic body (*De An.* ii. 1), the *τί ἦν εἶναι* τῷ τοιῷδε σώματι (*Metaph. ibid.* 1035, b, 16), then a matter constituted in a stated way belongs to the concept of the soul.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* vii. 15, 1039, b, 27, as at p. 220, n. 2, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Vid. supra*, p. 163, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* *ibid.* 1040, a, 8: not only are sensible things incapable of definition, but also ideas: τῶν γὰρ καθ' ἑκάστων ἡ ἰδέα, ὡς φασί, καὶ χωριστή. ἀναγκαῖον δ' εἶς ὀνομάτων εἶναι τὸν λόγον· ὄνομα δ' οὐ ποιήσει ὁ ὁριζόμενος, ἔγνωστος

embraces several individuals, or at least can embrace several;<sup>1</sup> and even if we descend to the lowest species we are still always met by universal determinations only. Within these, the individual entities are distinguished no longer by anything relating to species, but only by accidental marks of difference.<sup>2</sup> Between

γὰρ ἔσται. τὰ δὲ κείμενα κοινὰ πᾶσιν. ἀνάγκη ἔρα ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἄλλω ταῦτα· οἷον εἰ τις σὲ ὀρίσαιτο, ζῶον ἐρεῖ ἰσχυρὸν ἢ λευκὸν ἢ ἑτερόν τι δ καὶ ἄλλω ὑπάρξει.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* l. 14, Aristotle proposes the objection: *μηθὲν καλύειν χωρὶς μὲν πάντα πολλοῖς, ἕμα δὲ μόνῳ τοῦτῳ ὑπάρχειν* (which is really the case in the determination of concepts, *vid. supra*, p. 216, n. 1), and he gives among other answers this (cf. BONITZ, on this passage) at l. 27: 'even though an object be the only one in its species, like the sun and the moon, still its concept could only contain such things ὅσα ἐπ' ἄλλου ἐνδέχεται, οἷον ἐὰν ἕτερος γένηται τοιοῦτος, δῆλον ὅτι ἥλιος ἔσται· κοινὸς ἔρα δ λόγος, &c.' Similarly, in *De Caelo*, i. 9, 278, a, 8: supposing there were only one circle, οὐθὲν ἦττον ἄλλο ἔσται τὸ κύκλῳ εἶναι καὶ τῷδε τῷ κύκλῳ, καὶ τὸ μὲν εἶδος, τὸ δ' εἶδος ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον. *Ibid.* b, 5: there is only one world, but still the οὐρανῷ εἶναι and the τῷδε τῷ οὐρανῷ εἶναι are two different things.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* vii. 10 (*vid. supra*, p. 220, n. 2): ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ τοῦ καθόλου. *Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 97, b, 26: αἰεὶ δ' ἐστὶ πᾶς ὕπὸς καθόλου. The determination of concepts may be continued till all specific differences are exhausted, and the τελευτᾶ διαφορά is reached;

but below this there only remain individuals which are no longer specifically distinguished (see *Metaph.* x. 9, 1058, a, 34 sqq. and *supra*, p. 216, n. 1), and are in a sense *ἁμοια* (*Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 97, a, 37, b, 7); these, however, continue to form a multiplicity, and, in fact, an indefinite multiplicity, and for this reason cannot be the object of science and of the concept; *Metaph.* iii. 4, *init.*: εἴτε γὰρ μὴ ἔστι τι παρὰ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα ἄπειρα, τῶν δ' ἀπείρων πῶς ἐνδέχεται λαβεῖν ἐπιστήμην; cf. ii. 2, 994, b, 20 sqq.; *Thy.* ii. 2, 109, b, 14; *Anal. Post.* i. 24, 86, a, 3 sqq. and *ibid.* c. 19–21, the proof that argument cannot be continued to infinity either upwards or downwards. In this Aristotle exactly follows Plato: see ZELL *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. p. 524, 3, 587, 1.—Aristotle designates singulars by the phrases: τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα (or κ. ἕκαστον), τὸ ἀριθμῷ ἐν (*Metaph.* iii. 4, 999, b, 34; *Categ.* c. 2, 1, b, 6, *et supra*; see WAITZ on this passage), τὰ τινὲς, ὁ τις ἄνθρωπος, &c. (*Categ. ibid.* 1, 4, b; *Anal. Post.* i. 24, 85, a, 34; *Metaph.* vii. 13, 1038, b, 33), τὸδε τι (*Categ.* c. 5, 3, b, 10; *Metaph.* ix. 7, 1049, a, 27 *et supra*; see WAITZ on this passage of the *Categories*), also τὰ άτομα (e.g. *Categ.* c. 2, 1, b, 6, c. 5, 3, a, 35; *Metaph.* iii. 1, 996, b, 29. It is true

this accidental difference and the specific differences lie those attributes which belong exclusively to the members of a certain species, without, however, being directly included in their Concept; and Aristotle calls these *Properties* (*ἴδια*).<sup>1</sup> But in a wider sense this name is also used by him to include specific differences on the one side and accidental qualities on the other.<sup>2</sup>

What falls under one Concept must be, so far as this is the case, identical.<sup>3</sup> What does not fall under

that the lowest species, which do not divide into sub-species — the *ἀδιόφορα*, *vid. supra*, p. 216, n. 1—are given the same name: but in that case, whenever this meaning does not appear from the context itself, he uses, not merely τὰ ἔτομα, but ἔτομα εἶδη and similar expressions (cf. *Metaph.* iii. 3, 999, a, 12, v. 10, 1018, b, 6, vii. 8 *fin.*, x. 8, 9, 1058, a, 17, b, 10, xi. 1, 1059, b, 35) or τὰ ἔσχατα, because in descending from the most universal they come last (*Metaph.* xi. 1, 1059, b, 26; *Eth. N.* vi. 12, 1143, a, 29, 33; *De An.* iii. 10, 433, a, 16; *De Mem.* c. 2, 451, a, 26).

<sup>1</sup> In *Top.* i. 4, 101, b, 17, he distinguishes γένος, ἴδιον, and συμβεβηκός; and as soon as he has divided the ἴδιον again into ὅρος and ἴδιον in the narrower sense, he defines the latter, c. 5, 102, a, 17: ἴδιον δ' ἐστὶν ὃ μὴ δηλοῖ μὲν τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, μόνον δ' ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀντικατηγορεῖται τοῦ πράγματος [is related to it as an interchangeable concept], οἷον ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου τὸ γραμματικῆς εἶναι δεκτικόν, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Already (*loc. cit.*) he distinguishes the ποτὲ ἢ πρὸς τι ἴδιον from the ἀπλῶς ἴδιον, and in the

5th book, which deals with the topical treatment of the ἴδια (c. 1) he distinguishes the ἴδιον καθ' αὐτὸ from the ἴδιον πρὸς ἕτερον, the ἀεὶ ἴδιον from the ποτὲ ἴδιον. He himself, however, remarks (129, a, 32) of the ἴδιον πρὸς ἕτερον, and it is true in any case of the ποτὲ ἴδιον, that it belongs to the συμβεβηκότα. On the other hand, he gives as examples of the ἴδ. καθ' αὐτὸ and ἀεὶ essential marks such as ζῶν ἀθάνατος, ζῶν θνητὸν, τὸ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συγκείμενον (128, b, 19, 35, 129, a, 2). Cf. preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle does not say so in these words, but it is shown by his discussions on the various meanings of ταῦτον. In *Top.* i. 7 (cf. viii. 1, 151, b, 29; 152, b, 31) three of these are distinguished: γένει ταῦτον is what belongs to one genus, εἶδει ταῦτον what belongs to one species (cf. *Metaph.* x. 8, 1058, a, 18), and ἀριθμῷ ταῦτον, ὡν ὀνόματα πλείω τὸ δὲ πᾶνμα ἓν. This last kind of identity may be expressed in various ways: κυριώτατα μὲν καὶ πρώτως ὅταν ὀνόματι ἢ ὅρῳ τὸ ταῦτον ἀποδοθῇ, καθάπερ ἰμάτιον λεπίφ καὶ ζῶν πεζὸν δίπουν ἀνθρώπῳ, δεύτερον δ' ὅταν τῷ ἰδίῳ, καθάπερ τὸ ἐπιστήμης

one concept is different.<sup>1</sup> Complete Identity, however, implies unity of matter also, for individuals between which there is no difference of a species are yet different numerically, because in each of them the same concept presents itself in a different matter.<sup>2</sup> Conceptual distinction in the highest degree gives us *Contrary Opposition*; whereas simple difference produces *Contradictory Opposition*. For *Contraries* (ἐναντία) are such as, within the same Genus, lie as far as possible asunder.<sup>3</sup> Contrary opposition, in fact, is

δεκτικὸν ἀνθρώπου, . . . τρίτον δ' ὅταν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, ὅλον τὸ καθήμενον ἢ τὸ μουσικὸν Σωκράτει. There is a somewhat different division in *Metaph.* v. 9. Aristotle there distinguishes, first, the ταῦτα κατὰ συμβεβηκός and ταῦτα καθ' αὐτά; then the ταῦτον εἶδει and ἀριθμῷ, both of which are affirmed partly of that which has a Matter, partly of that which has an Essence (fuller at x. 3, 1054, a, 32: that is identical in number which both in Matter and in Form is one). As a general explanation he gives us a formula which is easily reducible to the one cited above: ἡ ταυτότης ἐνότης τίς ἐστίν ἢ πλείονων τοῦ εἶναι ἢ ὅταν χρῆται ὡς πλείσιν (as in αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ταυτόν). Since, however (according to ch. 10, 1018, a, 35), Unity and Being can be used in different senses, the meaning of the ταῦτον, ἕτερον, &c. must vary accordingly.

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* v. 9, 1018, a, 9: ἕτερα δὲ λέγεται ὧν ἡ τὰ εἶδη πλείω ἢ ἡ βλῆ ἢ ὁ λόγος τῆς οὐσίας· καὶ ὅλως ἀντικειμένως τῷ ταυτῷ λέγεται τὸ ἕτερον. On εἶδει and γένει ἕτερον, cf. *ibid.* x. 8, v.

10, 1018, a, 38 sqq. and ch. 28, 1024, b, 9.

<sup>2</sup> See preceding note and p. 222, n. 2. That the individual differences of things must be based on Matter will be further shown later on, in the second part of ch. vii. *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle states this definition, *Categ.* c. 6, 6, a, 17; *Eth. N.* ii. 8, 1108, b, 33, as one already in use (ὀρίζονται); but in *Metaph.* x. 4 *init.*, he puts it forward in his own name, and he there establishes the proposition that opposites must belong to the same genus, by observing expressly: τὰ μὲν γὰρ γένει διαφέροντα οὐκ ἔχει ὁδὸν εἰς ἄλληλα, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει πλέον καὶ ἀσύμβλητα (e.g. a sound and a colour are not opposed to one another, because they cannot at all be compared, they are ἀσύμβλητα). Yet, on the other hand, we read in *Metaph.* v. 10, 1018, a, 25: ἐναντία λέγεται τὰ τε μὴ δυνατὰ ἅμα τῷ αὐτῷ παρεῖναι τῶν διαφερόντων κατὰ γένος, καὶ τὰ πλείστον διαφέροντα τῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, καὶ τὰ πλείστον διαφέροντα τῶν ἐν ταυτῷ δεκτικῷ (that the ἐναντία are

nothing but specific difference made absolute.<sup>1</sup> *Contradictory* opposition, on the other hand, is the relation

accidental to one and the same *δεκτικὸν* is confirmed by *Metaph.* x. 4, 1055, a, 29; *De Somn.* No. 1, 453, b, 27), καὶ τὰ πλείστον διαφέροντα τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ὧν ἡ διαφορὰ μεγίστη ἢ ἀπλῶς ἢ κατὰ γένος ἢ κατ' εἶδος. τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐναντία λέγεται τὰ μὲν τῷ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ τῷ δεκτικῷ εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων, &c. (and the like in x. 4, 1055, a, 35), and *Categ.* c. 11 *fin.* also has: ἀνάγκη δὲ πάντα τὰ ἐναντία ἢ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει εἶναι [like black and white], ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις γένεσιν [like just and unjust], ἢ αὐτὰ γένη εἶναι [like good and evil]. SIMPL. cites something similar (*In Categ. Schol.* 84, a, 6; *Ar. Fr.* 117) from the treatise Π. ἀντικειμένων, about which cf. p. 70, n 4.—The more mature and correct statement is that which is given in *Metaph.* x. (e.g. good and evil could not be contraries if they did not fall under the same generic concept, that of moral behaviour); and, in fact, Aristotle himself (at 1055, a, 23 sqq.) resolves the earlier statements by bringing them into line with the idea of the ἐναντ. as there defined. It is only in reference to that definition of the ἐναντ. that we can understand Aristotle's important axiom (*Metaph.* iii. 2, 996, a, 20; iv. 2, 1004, a, 9, 1005, a, 3; xi. 3, 1061, a, 18; *An. Pri.* i. 36, 48, b, 5; *De An.* iii. 3, 427, b, 5, *et alibi*; see BONITZ and SCHWEGLER on *Metaph.* iii. 2, *loc. cit.*), τῶν ἐναντίων μία ἐπιστήμη. That is the same science which deals with the same things; things which

belong to different genera, like sound and colour, belong also to different sciences: cf. *loc. cit.* 1055, a, 31.—Further, from the same definition of the ἐναντ. (*ibid.* 1055, a, 19, cf. *De Caelo*, i. 2, 269, a, 10, 14, and *Phys.* i. 6, 189, a, 13) Aristotle deduced the principle that to each thing there can only be one contrary. Between contraries there may lie an indefinite number of intermediate grades, which are compounded of these contraries (as colours out of light and dark). Such intermediate grades are not found, however, between every pair of contraries, but only between those pairs of which one or other predicate does not necessarily belong to the subject concerned, and in which there is a gradual transition from one to the other. (*Metaph.* x. 7; *Categ.* c. 10, 11, b, 38 sqq., 12, b, 25 sqq. cf. SIMPL. *Categ. Schol. in Ar.* 84, a, 15 sqq., 28 sqq.) What Aristotle had in his mind in this doctrine of the ἐναντ. is the scale of changes in the natural sciences; for every change is a transition from one condition to the opposite; *Phys.* v. 3, 226, b, 2, 6, i. 4, 187, a, 31, c. 5, 188, a, 31 sqq.; *Gen. et Corr.* i. 7, 323, b, 29.—To the above definition of the εἶδος ἐναντίον corresponds that of the ἐναντίον κατὰ τόπον in *Meteor.* ii. 6, 363, a, 30, and *Phys.* v. 3, 226, b, 32.—The correct way of formulating oppositions was dealt with in the treatise Π. ἀντικειμένων (*vid. supra* p. 70, n. 4, and SIMPL. *loc. cit.* 83, b, 39 sqq.; *Ar. Fr.* 116).

<sup>1</sup> The διαφορὰ τέλειος of *Ne-*

between such concepts as stand to one another in the relation of Yes to No,<sup>1</sup> of affirmation to negation, and between which, therefore, no third or middle term can lie,<sup>2</sup> and of which as applied to every given object one or other must be true.<sup>3</sup> This kind of opposition, to put it differently, arises when everything which is not contained in a certain concept is collected into one negative expression,<sup>4</sup> i.e. where the aggregate of all possible determinations is divided between two concepts by the test of identity with or difference from some given determinant. Between contrary and contradictory opposition Aristotle places that of *privation and possession*,<sup>5</sup> though he is not able quite to establish the difference<sup>6</sup> between this and the other two kinds of

*taph.* x. 4, 1055, a, 10 sqq., 22 sqq. Since this opposition only occurs between abstract concepts and not between concrete things, the tract Π. ἀντικειμένων maintained that only the concepts (e.g. φρόνησις and ἀφροσύνη) were to be called ἀπλῶς ἐναντία, not the beings to which these concepts apply (such as the φρόνιμος and the ἀφρων). SIMPL. *loc. cit.* 83, b, 24 sqq., cf. PLATO, *Phædo*, 103 B.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle's standing formula for this kind of opposition is therefore, 'ὡς κατὰ φασιν καὶ ἀποφασιν ἀντικεῖσθαι.' In a judgment the like opposition is called ἀντίφασιν (*vid.* n. 6, &c., *infra*); and in *Phys.* v. 3, 227, a, 8 and *Metaph.* iv. 7 *init.*, v. 10 *init.*, the opposition of concepts is included under the same word.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* iv. 7, xi. 6, 1063, b, 19; *Phys.* *loc. cit.*, and cf. what will be said presently about contradictory judgment. The kind of opposition is the same there as

here: see *Categ.* c. 10, 12, b, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Categ.* c. 10, 11, b, 16 sqq., 13, a, 37 sqq.; and *Metaph.* x. 1057, a, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Ἄν ὄνομα ἢ ῥῆμα ἀόριστον; *vid. infra*, p. 232, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐξίς and στέρησις, e.g. 'seeing' and 'blind.' For what follows, cf. TRENDLENBURG, *Hist. Beitr.* i. 103 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> In *Metaph.* v. 22 (and, referring to this, x. 4, 1055, b, 3) Aristotle distinguishes three meanings of the στέρησις: (1) ἂν μὴ ἔχη τι τῶν πεφυκότων ἔχεισθαι, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸ ἦν πεφυκὸς ἔχειν, οἷον φῶς τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐστέρησθαι λέγεται. (2) ἂν πεφυκὸς ἔχειν, ἢ αὐτὸ ἦ τὸ γένος, μὴ ἔχη. (3) ἂν πεφυκὸς καὶ ὅτε πέφυκεν ἔχειν μὴ ἔχη. Only in the first meaning would 'privation' be synonymous with 'negation' (for 'blind' = 'not-seeing'), and we could affirm of the opposites κατὰ στέρησιν καὶ ἐξιν that which we are told by *Categ.* c. 10, 13, b, 20 sqq. (that is to say, by the

opposition. Notions of "good" vs. "badness" as the

author of the *Post-predicamenta* can not be affirmed of them, namely that 'everything is either one or the other' (either 'seeing' or 'blind'); in such a case, therefore, the relation between *στέφανος* and *ἔξω* would be reduced to that of *ἐπίστροφος*. In the other two senses of *στέφανος* this is not the case, for in them the *στέφανος* itself, as is admitted in *Μεταφ.* iv. 12, 1019, b, 3 sqq., expresses something positive, and is a kind of *ἔξω*; and thus, if we take 'privation' in this sense, the opposition of the *ἔξω* comes under the definition of the *ἐπιστροφος*.—The distinction of the two in the *Post-predicamenta* (*Categories* c. 10, 12, b, 26 sqq.) is founded on the following argument: of those *ἐνταῖα*, which have no middle term between them (as 'straight' and 'crooked'), one or other must necessarily apply to everything capable of the distinction (e.g. 'every number must be either *ὄδιον* or *κρῆν*'); when, on the other hand, there is a middle term between two *ἐνταῖα*, such a conclusion never follows (we cannot say, 'Everything which is capable of colour must be either white or black'); but in the case of *στέφανος* and *ἔξω*, neither one nor the other of these results will arise; we cannot say that 'to everything capable of the distinction one or other of such opposites must apply,' for there may be some time at which neither of the two will apply to it—*τὸ γὰρ μήποτε πεφυκὸς ὄψω ἔχειν οὐτε τυφλὸν οὐτε ὄψω ἔχειν λέγεται*; but neither can we reckon this class of opposites with those between which there

is a middle term—the one who has the vision? has eyes, and it is obvious that his eyes are not a middle term, for he is concerned with the seeing at the time in question is not vision has eyes. It is not because he has eyes and therefore the instance mentioned is not in the point and it, in the other hand, there is more than a correspondence between possession and perception, for there are all the degrees of partial possession, there are not only seeing things and blind things, but also things that blind—a further distinction of the *doxa* from the *epistēmē* comes merely on this point, that in the first *Cratyl.* 1. 1. 11. a. 18, that in the former the transition from one to the other is natural, while not become blind and black white, but in the latter only mediated from possession to perception and not conversely. But this is likewise incorrect: not only are things which see become blind or the rich poor, but blind things may become seeing and the poor rich, and even if this is not possible in every actual case, the same is just as true of the *doxa* themselves; neither can every poor man get well, nor every black thing become white. For the logical relation of concepts, such a distinction would in any case be of no importance.—Lastly, in *Metaph.* x. 4, 1055, b. 3, 7, 14, it is said that the *stérēōsis* is a kind of *deprivaōis*, namely the *deprivaōis* *en tō deiktōi*, and the *deprivaōis* a kind of *stérēōsis* (thus also in xi. 6, 1063, b, 17); so that, according to this, these three

corollaries which he deduced from his definitions were partly confuted by critics as old as Theophrastus and Eudemus.<sup>1</sup> To what is called the 'Relation of Judg-

ρον, οὐ μὴ ὄντος ἀναγκαίου, τεθέντος δ' ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν ἔσται διὰ τοῦτ' ἀδύνατον; 1. 28: ἔσται ἄρα τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἰσὺ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνδεχόμενον. *Metaph.* ix. 3, 1047, a, 24: ἔστι δὲ δυνατόν τοῦτο, ὅ ἐάν ὑπάρξῃ ἡ ἐνέργεια, οὐ λέγεται ἔχειν τὴν δύναμιν, οὐθὲν ἔσται ἀδύνατον. Likewise c. 4, 1047, b, 9, c. 8, 1050, b, 8: πᾶσα δύναμις ἅμα τῆς ἀντιφάσεώς ἐστιν . . . τὸ ἄρα δυνατόν εἶναι ἐνδέχεται καὶ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι· τὸ αὐτὸ ἄρα δυνατόν καὶ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι; ix. 9 *init.*: ὅσα γὰρ κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι λέγεται, ταῦτόν ἐστι δυνατόν τῶν ἀντιᾶ: i.e. what can be healthy can also be ill, what can rest can also move, he who can build can also destroy.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle says that in a 'possibility,' the possibility of the contrary is also contained (see preceding note, and *De Interpret.* c. 12, 21, b, 12: δοκεῖ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ δύνασθαι καὶ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δυνατόν τέμνεσθαι ἢ βαδίζειν καὶ μὴ βαδίζειν καὶ μὴ τέμνεσθαι δυνατόν, &c.), determining the concept by taking that meaning of δύναμις according to which it designates a power of doing or suffering (*Metaph.* ix. 1, 1046, a, 9 sqq., v. 12 *init.*); and it matters not that this possibility of the contrary is not always equally great, and that the ἐνδεχόμενον or δυνατόν (for these two expressions are really synonymous) at one time designates something which happens as a rule, though not without exceptions, at another something

which may equally happen or not happen (*Anal. Pr.* i. 13, 32, b, 4 sqq.). Hence he maintains in *Anal. Pr.* i. 13, 32, a, 29 (cf. *De Caelo*, i. 12, 282, a, 4), that from the ἐνδέχεσθαι ὑπάρχειν the ἐνδέχεσθαι μὴ ὑπάρχειν also invariably follows, and from the παντὶ ἐνδέχεσθαι the ἐνδέχεσθαι μὴ παντὶ and μὴ παντὶ (i.e. the possibility of the predicate in question occurring to none, or not to all, for PRANTL, *Gesch. d. Log.* i. 267, explains the words wrongly); for since the possible is nothing necessary, the contrary of all that is (merely) possible may happen.—And for the same reason Aristotle refuses (*ibid.* c. 17, 36, b, 35) to allow, in possible propositions, the simple conversion of the universal negative judgment. For, since the negative judgment, 'it is possible that no B is A,' according to him, includes the affirmative, 'it is possible that every B is A,' so the simple conversion of the former would include the simple conversion of a universal affirmative judgment; and universal affirmative judgments cannot be converted simply. Theophrastus and Eudemus denied these assertions, because they understood by 'possible,' everything that can happen, and lost hold of the statement that it must also at the same time be able not to happen; and thus they included some things necessary in the possible (ALEX. *Anal. Pr.* 51, b, m, 64, b, 72, a, b, m, 73, a). Aristotle



ments ' Aristotle pays as little attention as to the Hypothetical and Disjunctive Syllogisms. Only in what he

himself admits (*Anal. Pr.* i. 3, 25, a, 37; *De Interpr.* c. 13, 22, b, 29; cf. *Metaph.* ix. 2 *init.* c. 5, 1048, a, 4, c. 8, 1050, b, 30 sqq.) with regard to the forces of nature (*δυνάμεις*) which only act in one direction, that the necessary also *may be called* a possible (*δυνατόν*), and that, allowing this, universal negative possible-propositions can be converted simply, and that we may conclude from necessity to possibility—but he also adds that this is not true as to *his own* concept of the possible.—Two further points of dispute, on which Alexander wrote a work (*ALEX. Anal.* 40, b, 83, a), arose between Aristotle and his pupils upon the question about the mood of conclusions in syllogisms, the premisses of which are in different moods. Aristotle says that where one premiss is a possible- and the other an actual-proposition, a perfect syllogism can only be had in the case where the major proposition is a possible-proposition; if, however, it is the minor, we get, first of all, an imperfect syllogism, *i.e.* one in which the conclusion is only obtained by a *deductio ad absurdum* and not immediately from the given premisses, and secondly, in the case of a negative syllogism (more correctly: in all cases), the possibility in the conclusion must be taken in the improper sense (*i.e.* not as confined to that which both can and cannot be) (*Anal. Pr.* i. 15). Theophrastus and Eudemus, on the contrary, were of opinion that even in this case

there was a perfect possible-syllogism (*ALEX. loc. cit.* 56, b). Both sides are right, according to their concepts of the possible. If we understand by 'possible' everything that can be, including also the necessary, the syllogisms are quite correct and simple: 'Every B is A, every C can be B, therefore every C can be A'; 'No B is A, every C can be B, therefore it is possible that no C is A.' If, on the other hand, we take 'possible' to mean only that of which the contrary is likewise possible, we cannot make such syllogisms, because in this supposition the minor, 'every C can be B,' includes the negative proposition, 'every C can be not-B.' And also, as Theophrastus and Eudemus merely adhered to the principle that the modality of the conclusion is conformed to the weaker premiss (*ALEX. ibid.*), they asserted, on the same principle, that when one premiss is assertorial and the other apodeictic, the conclusion is apodeictic (*ALEX. ibid.* 40, a, 42, b, and from him *PHILOP. Schol. in Arist.* 158, b, 18, 159, a, 6), whilst, according to Aristotle (*Anal. Pr.* i. 9 sqq.) it is apodeictic when the major is so. In this case also, according to the meaning which we attach to the modality of propositions, both assertions may be made. If the propositions 'B must be A,' 'B cannot be A,' are supposed to express that between B and A there is (or is not) not a contingent, but a necessary connection, it follows that between every-

says of contradictory opposition<sup>1</sup> do we find the kernel of the late doctrine of disjunctive judgments. On the other hand, he is copious in his treatment of the Conversion of Propositions,<sup>2</sup> laying down the well-known rules,<sup>3</sup> but he treats it solely in connection with his theory of the Syllogism.

This theory of the Syllogism was expounded by Aristotle at full length, and it may truly be called his most original discovery.<sup>4</sup> As he was the first to introduce the name of the Syllogism into the scientific vocabulary,<sup>5</sup> so he was also the first to remark that all connections and all advances in our thought depend upon the syllogistic combination of judgments. A 'Syllogism' is a chain of thoughts, in which, from certain matters assumed, and by virtue of these alone, there issues of necessity some further matter different from them.<sup>6</sup>

thing contained in B and A, by the same necessity, there is, or is not, a connection (if all living beings, by reason of a necessity of nature, are mortal, the same is also true of every kind of living beings, *e.g.* of men), as Aristotle, *loc. cit.* 30, a, 21 sqq. shows quite clearly. If, on the other hand, these propositions are meant to state that we are obliged to think A connected or not connected with B, the proposition, 'C must (or cannot) be A' can only be deduced from the proposition 'B must (or cannot) be A,' when we are obliged to consider C implied in B. If, however, we only know as a fact (assertorically) that C is B, then we only know as a fact, likewise, that C is or is not that which we are obliged to

think connected or not connected with B.

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. supr.* p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Anal. Pr.* i. 2, 3, cf. c. 13, 32, a, 29 sqq. c. 17, 36, b, 15 sqq. ii. 1, 53, a, 3 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Simple conversion of universal negative and particular affirmative judgments, particular conversion (later so-called *conversio per accidens*) of universal affirmative, and no conversion at all of particular negative judgments—for the *conversio per contrapositionem* was not as yet known to him.

<sup>4</sup> As he himself says, *Soph. El.* c. 34, 183, b, 34, 184, b, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. PRANTL, *Gesch. d. Log.* i. 264.

<sup>6</sup> *Anal. Pr.* i. 24, b, 18: συλλογισμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος ἐν ᾧ τεθέντων τινῶν ἕτερόν τι τῶν κει-

The principle that this process in its simplest form involves no more than two assumptions, or more accurately two judgments, from which a third is derived, and that therefore no syllogistic conclusion can have more than two premisses, is nowhere expressly proved by Aristotle in the beginning of his treatise, though he refers to it later.<sup>1</sup> Now the deduction of a third judgment from two given judgments can only arise out of some bringing into connection of the concepts, which in these given judgments were as yet unconnected.<sup>2</sup> This is impossible, except a mediation be effected between them by another concept connected with both of them.<sup>3</sup> Every syllogism must therefore necessarily contain three concepts, no more and no less,<sup>4</sup> and of these the intermediate is connected in the one premiss with the first and in the other with the third, in such a way as to bring out the connection between the first and third in the con-

μένων ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβαίνει τῷ ταῦτα εἶναι. (Likewise *Top.* i. 1, 100, a, 25, cf. *Soph. El.* c. 1, 165, a. 1.) λέγω δὲ 'τῷ ταῦτα εἶναι' τὸ διὰ ταῦτα συμβαίνειν, τὸ δὲ 'διὰ ταῦτα συμβαίνειν' τὸ μηδενὸς ἔξωθεν ὅρου προσδεῖν πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι τὸ ἀναγκαῖον.

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Pr.* i. 25, 42, a, 32. As regards terminology, the premisses are generally called προτάσεις (*Metaph.* v. 2, 1013, b, 20: ὑποθέσεις τοῦ συμπεράσματος); the minor proposition in *Eth. N.* vi. 12, 1143, b, 3, vii. 5, 1147, b, 9 = ἡ ἑτέρα (or τελευτά) πρότασις; the conclusion invariably = συμπέρασμα. In *Anal. Pr.* ii. 1, 53, a, 17 sqq., however, συμπέρασμα stands for the subject of the conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> A principle which Aristotle does not state in this form, but which follows immediately from his definition of Judgment, if we apply it to the case before us.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Anal. Pr.* i. 23, b, 30 sqq., but especially 41, a, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Anal. Pr.* i. c. 25, *init.* *Ibid.* 42, b, 1 sqq. on the number of concepts in whole series of syllogisms. Of the three concepts of a syllogism (ὅροι, *vid. supr.* p. 219, n. 1), that which occurs in both premisses is called μέσος; that which comprehends the latter is called the higher or greater (μείζονος πρῶτον ἄκρον); that which is comprehended by it, the lower or lesser (ἐλαττον ἄκρον or ἑσχατον), *Anal. Pr.* i. 4, 25, b, 35, 32, 26, a, 21, c. 38 *init.*, and *Anal. Pr.* ii. 23, 68, b,

clusion. But this result may come in three ways. As all judgments consist in the connecting of a subject with a predicate (for Aristotle leaves hypothetical and disjunctive judgments out of his reckoning), and as the connecting of two judgments into a conclusion, or, in other words, the deduction of the conclusion from the premisses, rests upon the relation of the intermediate concept or middle term to the other two, it follows that the mode of the connecting ('the form of the syllogism') will be determined by the way in which the middle term is related to the others.<sup>1</sup> Now there are only three ways possible: the middle term may either be related as subject to the higher and as predicate to the lower concept, or as predicate to both, or as subject to both.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle does not take any direct notice of a fourth possible case, in which it is the subject of the lower and predicate of the higher; but we need not greatly blame him, for this fourth arrangement can

33 sq.; or the major concept is called briefly *ἄκρον*, and the minor *τρίτον*.

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Pr.* i. 23, 41, a, 13, at the end of the section on the syllogistic figures, Aristotle, after having treated of the necessity and significance of the Middle concept as a connecting-link between Major and Minor, continues: *εἰ οὖν ἀνάγκη μὲν τι λαβεῖν πρὸς ἄμφω κοινόν, τοῦτο δ' ἐνδέχεται (ἢ γὰρ τὸ Α τοῦ Γ καὶ τὸ Γ τοῦ Β κατηγορέσαντας, ἢ τὸ Γ κατ' ἄμφοῖν, ἢ ἄμφω κατὰ τοῦ Γ), ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ εἰρημένα σχήματα, φανερόν ὅτι πάντα συλλογισμὸν ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι διὰ τούτων τινὸς τῶν σχημάτων.* Cf. c. 32, 47, a, 40 sqq., and the searching discussion in

UEBERWEG's *Logik*, § 103, p. 276 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The position of the propositions has, as we know, no influence on the form of the syllogism. The precedence of the major, customary since then, seemed more natural to Aristotle than to us. In laying down a syllogism, he begins not, as we are accustomed to do, with the subject, but with the predicate of the major: *A ὑπάρχει παντὶ τῷ B, B ὑπάρχει παντὶ τῷ Γ*: so that, even in his form of expression, there is a constant descent from the greater to the middle concept, and from that to the lesser. Cf. UEBERWEG, *loc. cit.* p. 276.

never occur in a single and rigorous chain of reasoning.<sup>1</sup> We obtain, then, three *Figures* (σχήματα) which together sum up the categorical syllogism. The so-called fourth figure of later logic<sup>2</sup> is ignored, and neither the hypothetical nor the disjunctive syllogisms are treated of as special forms in any way.<sup>3</sup>

If we ask what syllogisms are possible in these three figures, it is to be observed that every syllogism must contain a universal, and must also contain an affirmative proposition;<sup>4</sup> that the conclusion can only be universal when both the premisses are so;<sup>5</sup> and that in every syllogism at least one of the premisses must resemble

<sup>1</sup> The proof of this cannot be well given here.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* iii. a, 738, 2nd ed.: and consult especially PRANTL, *Gesch. d. Log.* i. 570 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Whether this is a failing or, as PRANTL (*Gesch. d. Log.* i. 295) thinks, an advantage of Aristotelian logic, it is not necessary here to inquire; but when that learned writer, as well as BIESSE (*Phil. d. Arist.* i. 155), endeavours to find that Aristotelian account of hypothetical syllogisms, which others miss, in the remarks on supposition-syllogisms (συλλογισμοὶ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως) at *Anal. Pr.* i. 23, 40, b, 25, 41, a, 21 sqq. c. 29, 45, b, 22, c. 44, he confounds two different things. Aristotle means by a 'hypothetical syllogism' that which begins with an unproved supposition (cf. WAITZ, on *Anal.* 40, b, 25). We understand by it that of which the major is a hypothetical judgment. And the two classes do not by any means necessarily

coincide, for an unproved supposition may be expressed in a categorical proposition, and conversely a hypothetical proposition may be fully demonstrable. The same statement, can, in fact, without changing its meaning, be expressed both categorically and hypothetically. Our modern distinction of categorical and hypothetical propositions regards exclusively the form of the judgment, not the scientific certainty of the proposition.

<sup>4</sup> *Anal. Pr.* i. 24 *init.*: ἔτι τε ἐν ᾧ παντὶ [sc. συλλογισμῷ] δεῖ κατηγορικόν τινα τῶν ὄρων εἶναι καὶ τὸ καθόλου ὑπάρχειν. The former is not further proved, as Aristotle supposes it to be clear from his preceding explanation of the syllogistic figures. By way of proving the second, he proceeds: ἀνευ γὰρ τοῦ καθόλου ἡ οὐκ ἔσται συλλογισμὸς, ἢ οὐ πρὸς τὸ κείμενον, ἢ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰτήσεται which will be explained in detail in what follows *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* 41. b, 23.

the conclusion, both as to its quality and also as to its modality.<sup>1</sup> Yet Aristotle has nowhere deduced these rules on general principles from the nature of the syllogistic method. They are merely generalisations from his observation of the various forms of syllogism themselves. This analysis, however, he carries out with very great care. He is not satisfied with proving the well-known *moods* for the three figures,<sup>2</sup> but he also investigates minutely the influence which the modality of the premisses in pure and in mixed syllogisms must exercise upon the conclusion and upon the whole syllogistic process.<sup>3</sup> He regards the syllogisms of the first figure alone as 'perfect,' because, according to his view, they alone immediately reveal the necessity of the syllogistic sequence. Both the others yield 'imperfect' syllogisms, and require to be completed through the first. Their demonstrative value rests upon and is proved by the fact that they can be reduced to the first figure, either apagogically or by conversion.<sup>4</sup> These syllogistic forms are of course employed in the *reductio ad impossibile*, as well as in 'hypothetical' arguments generally.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* l. 27.

<sup>2</sup> For the first figure (to use the Scholastic designations) the moods: *Barbara, Darii, Celarent, Ferio* (*Anal. Pr.* i. 4); for the second: *Cesare, Camestres, Festino, Baroco* (*ibid.* c. 5); for the third: *Darapti, Felapton, Disamis, Datisi, Bocardo, Fresison* (c. 6).

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Pr.* i. c. 8-23; cf. the discussion in n. 1 to p. 234, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> See the sections cited, especially c. 4 *fin.*, c. 5 *fin.*, c. 6 *fin.*, c.

7, 29, a, 30, b, 1 sqq., c. 23, cf. c. 1, 24, b, 22: τέλειον μὲν οὖν καλῶ συλλογισμὸν τὸν μηδεὶς ἄλλου προσδεδόμενον παρὰ τὰ εἰλημένα πρὸς τὸ φανῆναι τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, ἀτελεῆ δὲ τὸν προσδεδόμενον ἢ ἐνὸς ἢ πλείονων, ἃ ἔστι μὲν ἀναγκαῖα διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὄρων οὐ μὴν εἴληπται διὰ προτάσεων. It is not necessary here to defend Aristotle's view.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* c. 23, 41, a, 21 sqq.; cf. *supra*, p. 238, n. 1.

With equal fulness does Aristotle set forth rules for the proper treatment of these forms in scientific use, and the errors to be avoided. He shows in the first instance what kind of propositions are more difficult to prove but more easy to confute, and *vice versa*.<sup>1</sup> Next he provides rules for the discovery of the fitting premisses, having regard to the quality and quantity of the conclusion to be proved,<sup>2</sup> and in doing so he takes occasion to censure<sup>3</sup> in passing the Platonic method of division.<sup>4</sup> On this head he treats minutely of the rules and methods which must be observed in order to reduce the materials of proof so discovered to the exact syllogistic form.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore he discusses the capacity of syllogisms in relation to the comprehension of their contents;<sup>6</sup> the syllogisms giving true conclusions from false premisses;<sup>7</sup> the *circulus in argu-*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* c. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* c. 27-29, here also (c. 29) with express application to apagogic and supposition-syllogisms.

<sup>3</sup> To seek to define concepts by means of continuous divisions, he says (c. 31), is of no use; we have then to suppose the chief point that is to be proved. When it is a question of the concept of man as a ζῷον θνητόν, then, he says, from the propositions 'All living beings are either mortal or immortal; man is a living being,' it would only follow that man is either mortal or immortal: that he is a ζῷον θνητόν is a mere postulate. Hence Aristotle says of division, that it is οἷον ἀσθενής [not valid] συλλογισμός. Similarly in *Anal. Post.* ii. 5. Also in *Part. An.* i. 2 sq.,

the Platonic method is blamed because (contrary to the rule given at p. 216, n. 1) it multiplies unnecessarily the intermediate divisions, introduces the same thing under different genera, gives negative qualities, divides from all kinds of opposite points of view, &c. Cf. MEYER, *Arist. Thierkunde*, 71 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 523 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* c. 32-46.

<sup>6</sup> *Anal. Pr.* ii. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* c. 2 *init.* (cf. *Top.* viii. 11 sq., 162, a, 9, b, 13): ἐξ ἀληθῶν μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστι ψεύδος συλλογισσασθαι, ἐκ ψευδῶν δ' ἔστιν ἀληθές, πλὴν οὐ διότι ἀλλ' ὅτι· τοῦ γὰρ διότι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ ψευδῶν συλλογισμός (because false premisses give the ground itself, the διότι, falsely; cf. *supra*, p. 173, n. 2). Under what

*endo*; <sup>1</sup> the 'conversion' of the syllogism; <sup>2</sup> the *Reductio ad absurdum*; <sup>3</sup> syllogisms which result from the conversion of premisses into their opposites, <sup>4</sup> together with the various syllogistic fallacies and the means of meeting them. <sup>5</sup> Lastly he inquires into those kinds of proof which do not arise by *demonstration*, in the strict sense of the word, <sup>6</sup> and establishes the method of argument peculiar to each. <sup>7</sup> We cannot at this point

conditions this is possible in the different figures, is discussed in c. 2-4.

<sup>1</sup> τὸ κύκλω καὶ ἐξ ἀλλήλων δεικνύσθαι. This consists in the conclusion of a syllogism (which, however, must of course be shown to be true from other sources) being used in conjunction with the converse of one premiss to prove the other. For the cases where this is possible, see *loc. cit.* c. 5-7. Against 'the vicious circle' in argument, see *Anal. Post.* i. 3, 72, b, 25.

<sup>2</sup> The destruction of one premiss by the other in conjunction with the contradictory or contrary of the conclusion; *loc. cit.* c. 8-10.

<sup>3</sup> The *Reductio ad absurdum*, ὁ διὰ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου συλλογισμός, c. 11-14, cf. *Top.* viii. 2, 157, b, 34, c. 12, 162, b, 5, and *Anal. Post.* i. 26, where it is remarked that direct proof is of greater scientific value.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* c. xv.

<sup>5</sup> The *petitio principii* (τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ αἰτεῖσθαι), c. 16, cf. *Top.* viii. 13; the μὴ παρὰ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν τὸ ψεῦδος, c. 17; the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, c. 18, cf. *Top.* viii. 10; rules for disputation deduced from this, c. 19, sq.; on deception by too hasty suppositions, c. 21; on proving certain suppositions by the transposition of the propositions in a syllogism, c. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Induction, c. 23; example, c. 24 (cf. *Anal. Post.* i. 1, 71, a, 9; *Rhet.* i. 2, 1356, b, 2, 1357, b, 25, ii. 20); ἀπαγωγή (reduction of one problem to another more easy to solve), c. 25; objection (ἐνστάσις), c. 26; the syllogism from the probable (εἰκός) or certain marks (σημεῖα), which Aristotle calls the 'Enthymeme,' c. 27. The most important of these is 'Induction,' which we shall discuss later on. It consists in the major proposition being proved by the minor and the conclusion. *E.g.*, we may prove apodictically 'All animals which have little gall are long-lived; man, the horse &c. have little gall, and are therefore long-lived;' but the inductive proof will go thus: 'Man, the horse &c., are long-lived; man &c. have little gall; therefore animals which have little gall are long-lived.' This, however, only applies when the minor concept ('animals which have little gall') has an equal extension with the middle concept ('man &c.'), and when the minor proposition ('man &c. have little gall') can be simply transposed, so that in its place 'the animals which have little gall are man &c.' can be put (*loc. cit.* c. 23).

<sup>7</sup> See for a fuller discussion of these points, PRANTL, p. 299-



follow him into these researches, although we undoubtedly owe much to them in the application of the syllogistic method, and though they prove most clearly the care with which the great logician worked out its many-sided detail.

The syllogistic system forms the foundation upon which Aristotle built the theory of Scientific Proof, which he set out in the second *Analytics*. All proof is syllogistic, but not every syllogism is proof. It is only the *Scientific Syllogism* which deserves this name.<sup>1</sup> Science consists in the cognition of causes, and the cause of a phenomenon is that from which it of necessity arises.<sup>2</sup> Proof, therefore, and apprehension by means of proof are only possible when something is explained from its original causes.<sup>3</sup> Nothing can be the subject of proof except that which is necessary. Proof is a conclusion from necessary premisses.<sup>4</sup> That which is ordinarily (though not without exception) true can be

321.—In the selection and sequence of the different sections no strict order is observed, although related subjects are put together. On the division of the *Prior Analytics* as a whole, see BRANDIS, p. 204 sq., 219 sq.

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 2, 71, b, 18: ἀπόδειξιν δὲ λέγω συλλογισμὸν ἐπιστημονικόν. And after giving the requisites for such an argument, he adds: συλλογισμὸς μὲν γὰρ ἔσται καὶ ἄνευ τούτων, ἀπόδειξις δ' οὐκ ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ποιήσει ἐπιστήμην.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.* c. 2 *init.*: ἐπίστασθαι δὲ οἴομεθ' ἕκαστον ἀπλῶς . . . ὅταν τὴν τ' αἰτίαν οἴωμεθα γνῶσκειν δι' ἣν τὸ πρῶτον ἔστιν, ὅτι ἐκείνου

αἰτία ἐστὶ, καὶ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι τοῦτ' ἄλλως ἔχειν. Further references in support of this, *supra*, p. 163, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 71, b, 19: εἰ τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι ὅλον ἔθεμεν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξ ἀληθῶν τ' εἶναι καὶ πρώτων καὶ ἀμέσων [about this below] καὶ γνωριμωτέρων καὶ προτέρων τοῦ συμπεράσματος· οὕτω γὰρ ἔσονται καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ οἰκείαι τοῦ δεικνυμένου. *Ibid.* line 29: αἰτιά τε . . . δεῖ εἶναι [so. that from which a proof is deduced] . . . ὅτι τότε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅταν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰδῶμεν.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* c. 4 *init.*: ἐπεὶ δ' ἀδύνατον ἄλλως ἔχειν οὐ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη ἀπλῶς, ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη τὸ ἐπιστητὸν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀποδεικ-

included under matters of proof only in a limited sense.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the contingent cannot be proved—cannot even be known scientifically.<sup>2</sup> And since necessary truth is that only which proceeds from the essence and the idea of the subject, while everything else is contingent, so it may be said that all proof relates to and is founded exclusively upon the essential characteristics of things, and that the concept of each thing is at once its starting-point and goal.<sup>3</sup> The purer and more perfect the information, therefore, which any form of Proof secures to us concerning the *conceptual nature* and the causes of an object, the higher is the kind of knowledge which it warrants; and so, other things being equal, a universal proof ranks above a particular, a positive proof above a negative, a direct above an apagogic, one which enables us to know the cause above that which merely instructs us in the fact.<sup>4</sup>

τικὴν ἐπιστήμην. ἀποδεικτικὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἣν ἔχομεν τῷ ἔχειν ἀπόδειξιν· ἐξ ἀναγκαίων ἄρα συλλογισμός ἐστὶν ἢ ἀπόδειξις. Cf. note 3 *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* xi. 8, 1065, a, 4: ἐπιστήμη μὲν γὰρ πᾶσα τοῦ ἀεὶ ὄντος ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺν, τὸ δὲ συμβεβηκὸς ἐν οὐδετέρῳ τούτων ἐστίν. *Anal. Post.* i. 30: πᾶς γὰρ συλλογισμός ἢ δι' ἀναγκαίων ἢ διὰ τῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺν προτάσεων· καὶ εἰ μὲν αἱ προτάσεις ἀναγκαῖαι, καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ δ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺν, καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα τοιοῦτον. Cf. p. 168, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 6, 75, a, 18, c. 30; cf. c. 8, c. 33, &c.; *vid. supra*, p. 164, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* c. 6 *init.*: εἰ οὖν ἐστὶν ἢ ἀποδεικτικὴ ἐπιστήμη ἐξ ἀναγκαίων ἀρχῶν (δὲ γὰρ ἐπίσταται οὐ δυνατὸν ἄλλως ἔχειν) τὰ δὲ καθ' αὐτὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς

πράγμασιν . . . φανερόν ὅτι ἐκ τοιούτων τινῶν ἂν εἴη ὁ ἀποδεικτικὸς συλλογισμός· ἅπαν γὰρ ἢ οὕτως ὑπάρχει ἢ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς, τὰ δὲ συμβεβηκότα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα. *Ibid.* at the end: ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχει περὶ ἑκάστον γένος ὅσα καθ' αὐτὰ ὑπάρχει καὶ ἢ ἑκάστον, φανερόν ὅτι περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτὰ ὑπαρχόντων αἱ ἐπιστημονικαὶ ἀποδείξεις καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων εἰσὶν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ συμβεβηκότα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα, ὥστ' οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὸ συμπέρασμα εἰδέναι διότι ὑπάρχει, οὐδ' εἰ ἀεὶ εἴη, μὴ καθ' αὐτὸ δὲ, οἷον οἱ διὰ σημείων συλλογισμοί. τὸ γὰρ καθ' αὐτὸ οὐ καθ' αὐτὸ ἐπιστήσεται, οὐδὲ διότι. τὸ δὲ διότι ἐπίστασθαι ἔστι τὸ διὰ τοῦ αἰτίου ἐπίστασθαι. δι' αὐτὸ ἔρα δεῖ καὶ τὸ μέσον τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῷ μέσῳ ὑπάρχειν. Cf. p. 213, n. 5 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 14, c. 24–27.

If we take demonstration as a whole, and consider the building up of a scientific system, it is an axiom that the knowledge of the universal must precede that of the particular.<sup>1</sup> The same considerations lead up from another point of view to a principle which is deeply rooted in Aristotle's whole way of thinking: that nothing can be demonstrated except from its own peculiar principles, and that it is inadmissible to borrow proofs from without. Demonstration, he thinks, should start from the essential characteristics of the object in question, and any properties which belong to another genus can only accidentally attach to it, seeing that they form no part of its concept.<sup>2</sup> All demonstration, consequently, hinges on the concept of the thing. Its problem consists in determining, not only the properties which attach to any object by virtue of the conception of it, but also the media by which they are attached to it. Its function is to deduce the particular from the universal, phenomena from their causes.

Is this process of 'mediation' unending, or has it a necessary limit? Aristotle takes the latter alternative, from three points of view.

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* iii. 1, 200, b, 24: ὅσπερ γὰρ ἡ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων θεωρία τῆς περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐστίν.

<sup>2</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 7 *init.*: οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶν ἐξ ἄλλου γένους μετὰ βάντα δεῖξαι, οἷον τὸ γεωμετρικὸν ἀριθμητικῇ. τρία γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀποδείξεσιν, ἐν μὲν τὸ ἀποδεικνύμενον τὸ συμπέρασμα· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπάρχον γένει τι καὶ αὐτό. ἐν δὲ τὰ ἀξιώματα· ἀξιώματα δ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ὧν [sc. αἱ ἀποδείξεις εἰσὶν]. τρίτον τὸ γένος τὸ ὑποκείμενον, οὗ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ καὶ αὐτὸ συμβεβηκότα δηλοῖ ἡ ἀπόδειξις. ἐξ ὧν μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀπό-

δείξις, ἐνδέχεται τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι· ὧν δὲ τὸ γένος ἕτερον, ὥσπερ ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας, οὐκ ἐστὶ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἐφαρμόσαι ἐπὶ τὰ τοῖς μεγέθεσι συμβεβηκότα. . . . ὥστ' ἡ ἀπλῶς ἀνάγκη τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι γένος ἢ πῆ, εἰ μέλλει ἡ ἀπόδειξις μεταβαίνειν. ἄλλως δ' ὅτι ἀδύνατον, δῆλον· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἀνάγκη τὰ ἅκρα καὶ τὰ μέσα εἶναι. εἰ γὰρ μὴ καὶ αὐτὰ, συμβεβηκότα ἔσται. διὰ τοῦτο . . . οὐκ ἐστὶ δεῖξαι . . . ἄλλῃ ἐπιστήμῃ τὸ ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ἡ ὅσα οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα ὥστ' εἶναι θάτερον ὑπὸ θάτερον; c,

We may rise from the particular to the general—from the subject, beyond which there is nothing of which it can be predicated—to continually higher predicates: and we may, on the other hand, descend from the most universal point—from that predicate which is the subject of no other predicate—down to the particular. But in any case we must arrive eventually at a point where this progression ceases, otherwise we could never reach an effectual demonstration or definition.<sup>1</sup> The argument excludes also the third hypothesis, that there may exist an infinite number of intermediate terms between a definite subject and a definite predicate.<sup>2</sup> If the list of middle terms is not infinite, it follows that there are things of which there cannot be a demonstration or derived knowledge.<sup>3</sup> For wherever the middle terms cease, immediate knowledge must necessarily take the place of demonstration. To demonstrate *everything* is not possible. If we attempt it we are either brought round again to that progression *ad infinitum* already mentioned, which annuls all possibility of knowledge and Proof, or else to 'arguing in a circle,' which is equally incapable of producing a solid demonstration.<sup>4</sup> There remains, therefore, but one

ἡ *init.*: φανερόν ὅτι ἕκαστον ἀποδείξαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἑκάστου ἀρχῶν, &c. We return to this later on.

<sup>1</sup> For he says at 83, b, 6, 84, a, 3: τὰ ἅπεια οὐκ ἔστι διεξελθεῖν νοοῦντα. Cf. note 4 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ch. 19-22. The details of this treatment, in parts not very clear, cannot well be repeated here. We have already seen at p. 222, n. 2, that Aristotle

supposes a limit to the number of concepts above as well as below.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. 22, 84, a, 30; and so *Metaph.* iii. 2, 997, a, 7: περὶ πάντων γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἀπόδειξιν εἶναι· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ τινων εἶναι καὶ περὶ τι καὶ τινῶν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν.

<sup>4</sup> After Aristotle (*Anal. Post.* i. 2) has shown that the proof-power of syllogisms is conditional on the scientific knowledge of the premisses, he continues, in ch. 3:

conclusion, that in the last resort demonstration must start from propositions which, by reason of their *immediate certainty*, neither admit nor stand in need of proof.<sup>1</sup> These 'principles' of all proof<sup>2</sup> must possess

'Many conclude from this, that no knowledge at all is possible; others, that everything can be proved.' But he confutes both assertions. Of the former he says: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑποθέμενοι μὴ εἶναι ὅλως ἐπίστασθαι, οὗτοι εἰς ἄπειρον ἀξιοῦσιν ἀνάγεσθαι ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐπισταμένους τὰ ὕστερα διὰ τὰ πρότερα, ὧν μὴ ἐστὶ πρῶτα, ὁρθῶς λέγοντες, ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὰ ἄπειρα διελθεῖν. εἰ τε ἴστανται καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀρχαί, ταύτας ἀγνώστους εἶναι ἀποδείξας γε μὴ οὕτως αὐτῶν, ὅπερ φασὶν εἶναι τὸ ἐπίστασθαι μόνον· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐστὶ τὰ πρῶτα εἰδέναι, οὐδὲ τὰ ἐκ τούτων εἶναι ἐπίστασθαι ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ κυρίως, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, εἰ ἐκεῖνά ἐστιν. He admits that what is deduced would not be *known* if the principles (ἀρχαί) are not *known*, and that if mediate knowledge, by way of proof, is the only *knowledge*, then there can be no knowledge of ἀρχαί. Yet he himself in the same treatise denies this very thing at p. 72, b, 18; cf. *Metaph.* iv. 4, 1006, a, 6: ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀπαιδευσία τὸ μὴ γινώσκειν, τίνων δὲ ζητεῖν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τίνων οὐ δει' ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀδύνατον ἀπόδειξιν εἶναι· εἰς ἄπειρον γὰρ ἂν βαδίζοι, ὥστε μὴδ' οὕτως εἶναι ἀπόδειξιν. As to the second of the above propositions, Aristotle states it at p. 72, b, 16, in other words—πάντων εἶναι ἀπόδειξιν οὐδὲν καλύειν· ἐνδέχασθαι γὰρ κύκλῳ γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ ἐξ ἀλλήλων—and then at ll. 25 sqq. of the same page he goes on to

refute it by reference to his earlier exposition on the subject of 'reasoning in a circle' (*de quo* r. *supra*, p. 242, n. 1).

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* c. 2, 71, b, 29: ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξ ἀληθῶν τ' εἶναι καὶ πρῶτων καὶ ἀμέσων καὶ γνωριμωτέρων καὶ προτέρων καὶ αἰτίων τοῦ συμπεράσματος. . . . ἐκ πρῶτων δ' ἀποδεικνύων, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστήσεται μὴ ἔχων ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῶν [because otherwise if they were not ἀποδείκτοι we could, likewise, only know them by proof]; τὸ γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι ὧν ἀπόδειξις ἐστὶ μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, τὸ ἔχειν ἀπόδειξιν ἐστίν. c. 3, 72, b, 18: ἡμεῖς δὲ φάμεν ὅτε πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην ἀποδεικτικὴν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἀμέσων ἀναπόδεικτον. . . . καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐπιστήμην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐπιστήμης εἶναι τιμὰ φάμεν, ἣ τοὺς ὅρους γνωρίζομεν. Cf. *supra*, p. 197, n. 6, and 210, n. 2, 179, n. 4, and 210, n. 2 *fin*. On the other hand, the circumstance that a thing is always so is no reason for rejecting proof by causes, for even the eternal may have its causes on which it is conditional; see *Gen. An.* ii. 6, 742, b, 17 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> 'Αρχαί, ἀρχαὶ ἀποδείξεως, ἀρχαὶ συλλογιστικαί, ἃ ἄμεσοι, προτάσεις ἄμεσοι, *Anal. Post.* 72, a, 7, 14, c. 10 *init.* (λέγω δ' ἀρχὰς ἐν ἐκάστῳ γένει ταύτας, ὡς ὅτι ἐστὶ μὴ ἐνδέχεται δεῖξαι); ii. 19, 99, b, 21, cf. p. 197, n. 4; *Gen. An.* ii. 6, 742, b, 29 sqq.; *Metaph.* v. 1, 1013, a, 14, iii. 1, 2, 995, b, 28, 996, b, 27, iv. 3, and also cf. *Ind.*

explicit problems, the true solution of which brings us to philosophic knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that neither this theory nor the actual practice of Aristotle can satisfy the stricter requirements of modern science.

Whether we consider his procedure in the working out from the observed facts of the laws and definitions of Science, or in the establishment of natural phenomena themselves, we must admit that it shows serious omissions and defects. Of Induction, for example, he says that it consists in the collection, from *all* the instances of a given class, of a proposition which expresses as a universal law that which was true of all these particular cases.<sup>2</sup> In truth, Induction consists in inferring such a proposition from *all the cases known to us*; and in considering the principle on which the inductive method rests, the main point is to inquire how we are justified in concluding from *all the cases known to us*, a law for *all like cases*. Aristotle can hardly be blamed for not raising exactly this question, since none of his successors succeeded in stating it clearly until Stuart Mill wrote his *Logic*; and even he could find no answer but an inadequate and self-contradictory theory. But it was an inevitable result of Aristotle's position that his theory of Induction does not help us over the real difficulty, which is to ascertain how the correctness of an inductive proof can be assumed in spite of the fact that the range of experiences on which it rests is not *complete*. The fact is that Aristotle, as we have

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, b, 25:

ἔστι δὲ ἡ διαλεκτικὴ πειραστικὴ περὶ  
ὧν ἡ φιλοσοφία γνωστικὴ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 242, n. 6, and

p. 255.

already indicated, has tried to fill up the gap by the invention of the 'proof from probability,' and by the dialectical treatment of the *ἀπορίαι*. In the latter his acuteness and his scientific width of view are conspicuous throughout. But it cannot make up for a satisfactory and methodical comparison of observed facts, if only for the reason that the theories discussed are not themselves based on pure observation, but on the *ἔνδοξον*—on views, that is, in which guesses, inferences and fancies have, or at least may have, become mixed up with actual experience. Even where Aristotle is dealing with actual observation, he falls, in many respects, far short of the standard which we are accustomed to set to the scientific observer. As to the conditions of a trustworthy observation, or the methods to be applied for establishing the correctness of one's own observations or controlling the accuracy of information given by others, we have only here and there a chance remark. As he is too little conscious of the part which a subjective mental activity plays in all perception,<sup>1</sup> so it was natural that his method should not adequately provide for the subjective control of the errors of observation.

In his own work there is, on this side of it, much to criticise. It is true that he has brought together, especially in the zoological writings, an extraordinary volume of statements of fact, the overwhelming majority of which (so far as they can now be verified<sup>2</sup>) have been

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 210 and *infra*, ch. x.

<sup>2</sup> For this is not always possible, partly because it is often uncertain which animal is meant

by this or that name, partly because not all the animals mentioned by Aristotle are sufficiently known to us.

found to be correct. Most of these, of course, are patent enough to any observer; but there are also many cases among them where careful investigation would be required.<sup>1</sup> The methods of experiment he did not altogether neglect.<sup>2</sup> His historical studies excite our

<sup>1</sup> Thus we see from *Part. An.* iii. 4, 665, a, 33 sqq. (cf. LEWES, *Arist.* § 394), that he had made experiments on the development of the embryo in the egg, since he there remarks that we often find in eggs, even on the third day, the heart and the liver as isolated points. So in *Gen. An.* ii. 6, he makes remarks on the order of appearance of the different parts of the body; from which, as even LEWES (§ 475) admits, we see that Aristotle studied embryonic development. A statement, long considered fabulous, about the appearance of a placenta in a kind of shark (*H. An.* vi. 10, 565, b, 1) has been confirmed (by Joh. MÜLLER, *Abh. d. Berl. Ak.* 1840, *Phys. math. Kl.* 187, cf. LEWES, *loc. cit.* § 205); the same is the case (cf. LEWES, § 206-208) with Aristotle's statements about the embryo of the ink-fish (*Gen. An.* iii. 8, 758, a, 21); about fishes which build a nest (*H. An.* viii. 30, 607, b, 19); about the eyes of the mole (*De An.* iii. 1, 425, a, 10, *H. An.* i. 9, 491, b, 28 sqq.), and about a gland which a certain kind of stag has under the tail (*H. An.* ii. 15, 506, a, 23, cf. W. Rapp in *Müller's Archiv. f. Anat.* 1839, 363 sq.). With regard to his description of the cephalopods, LEWES remarks (§ 340 sq.) that it could only spring from a great familiarity with their forms, and we see in it the unmistakeable traces of personal knowledge.

All the more odd is it that Lewes should complain of Aristotle's failure to mention the freshness of the sea breeze, the play of the waves, &c. This is to blame Aristotle for not having the bad taste to drop from the realism of a zoological description into the style of a *feuilleton*, or the impertinence to explain to people who had the sea daily before their eyes the things they had known all their lives.

<sup>2</sup> EUCKEN, *Meth. d. Arist. Forsch.*, p. 163 sqq., gives instances from *Meteor.* ii. 3, 359, a, 12, 358, b, 34 (*H. An.* viii. 2, 590, a, 22); *H. An.* vi. 2, 560, a, 30 (*Gen. An.* iii. 1, 752, a, 4); *De An.* ii. 2, 413, b, 16; *De Respir.* iii. 471, a, 31; *H. An.* vi. 37, 580, b, sqq. (if this was really an experiment, and not rather a chance observation). Then again there are others introduced with a λέγουσιν, *Gen. An.* iv. 1, 765, a, 21 (which is later on disputed by himself), and *Hist. An.* ii. 17, 508, b, 4 (though in *Gen. An.* iv. 6, 774, b, 31 the same is stated in his own name). Some of these experiments are of such a questionable kind, that we may well doubt whether Aristotle himself conducted them; and, on the whole, he appeals to experiments so seldom that we cannot avoid seeing how little he, or Greek science in general, recognised their value.



high admiration by their extent and their accuracy.<sup>1</sup> To received accounts he so far takes a critical attitude that he is careful to correct many false views,<sup>2</sup> to direct attention to the untrustworthiness of some of his authorities,<sup>3</sup> and to attack even universally accepted myths.<sup>4</sup> Where he lacks adequate means of observation, he is willing to reserve his judgment;<sup>5</sup> where there might be a tendency to close an inquiry too precipitately, he gives us warning that we should first weigh all the objections suggested by the matter in hand before we decide.<sup>6</sup> In a word, he shows himself not only an untiring inquirer whose thirst<sup>7</sup> for the knowledge of all things great and small was never satisfied,

<sup>1</sup> Besides the numberless items of information from the History of the Greek States, of Philosophy, of Poetry, and of Rhetoric, which the extant works contain, we may refer here to what is quoted to us from the *Politics* and other lost works; *de quo vide* p. 101, n. 1; 73, n. 1; 62, n. 5; 58, n. 1; 103, n. 1, and 104, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in the cases named by EUCKEN (*loc. cit.* 124), *Gen. An.* iii. 5, 755, b, 7 sqq., 756, a, 2; ch. 6, 756, b, 13 sqq., 757, a, 2 sqq.; iv. 1, 765, a, 16 sqq., 21 sqq.; *H. An.* viii. 24, 605, a, 2 sq.

<sup>3</sup> As in *Hist. An.* viii. 28, 606, a, 8, ii. 1. 501, a, 25, where certain statements of Ctesias are called in question as untrustworthy; in *Gen. An.* iii. 5, 756, a, 33, where he says that fishermen frequently overlook the occurrence in question: οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν οἶδεν παρὲς ταύτην τὴν γῶναι χάρυν. So in *Hist. An.* ix. 41, 628, b, 8: αἰνέοντι δ' αὖτις

ἐντυγχάνομεν. But, on the other hand, in c. 29, 37, 618, a, 18, 620, b, 23, he appeals to eyewitness.

<sup>4</sup> As in doubting the genuineness of the poems of Orpheus, and the existence of their supposed author; as to which see ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* vol. i. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 169, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *De Caelo*, i. 13, 294, b, 6: ἀλλ' εἰκόσις μέχρι τῶν ζῴων, ἀλλ' οὐ μέχρι τῶν οὐρανίων τῆς ἐκταρίας· πᾶσι γὰρ ἴσως ταῦτα δοκῶντες, καὶ πρὶν τι πᾶντα περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ζῴων εἰλεῖν πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν λέγοντες· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ζῴῳ μέχρι τῶν οὐρανίων οὐκ ἐκτελεῖται αὐτοὶ αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐκ οὐκ μάλιστα καλῶς ζῶντες αὐτοὶ ταῦτα εἰλεῖν καὶ τὴν αἰσάναι αὐτοὶ οὐκ οὐκ γὰρ. ταῦτα δ' αὖτις ἐν τῷ πᾶσι τελευτῶντες οὐκ οὐκ φαίμεν.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* *supra*,

*supra* *vide*

should really advance beyond the form in which he stated them. In the then state of science it was already a great thing that observed facts should be collected in such vast masses and with such care. It was not to be expected that they should also be with the like care tested, or that his personal observations should be exactly discriminated from information otherwise received, and the value of the latter critically appraised. Many of the assertions which we find absurd, were probably taken by Aristotle from others in all good faith, and were not doubted by him, merely because the knowledge of nature which he possessed gave him no reason to think them impossible. When we are surprised by the rashness with which the Greeks often built hypotheses or theories upon facts whose falsity is obvious to us at first sight, we do not stop to think how utterly they were ignorant of all our aids to accurate observation, and how greatly this poverty of tools must have hindered every sort of helpful experiment. To fix time without a watch, to compare degrees of heat without a thermometer, to observe the heavens without a telescope and the weather without a barometer—these and the like were the tasks which the natural philosophers of Greece had to set themselves. Where there is no basis for accuracy as to facts, the difficulties that attend the classification of phenomena, the discovery of natural laws, and the correction of hypothesis by experience are so vastly increased, that we cannot wonder if scientific inquiry rises but slowly and insecurely above the levels of prescientific fancy. The service which Aristotle nevertheless did for the world in

the collection of data, and the acuteness with which he strove to explain the facts he knew, cannot but be appreciated if we try to judge him by any standards that conform to the knowledge and the opportunities of his day.

To enter into the details of Aristotle's *Topics*, or to examine his refutation of the Sophistic fallacies, are equally beyond our present scope. No wider view of his scientific principles is to be got from them, but only an application of them to a field beyond the limits of Science properly so called.<sup>1</sup> But this is the proper place to touch upon his researches into Definition, which we find partly in the second *Analytica*, partly in the *Topics*.<sup>2</sup> As the Concept forms the starting point of all scientific research, so we may say conversely that a complete acquaintance with the Concept—which is Definition—is the goal toward which it strives. Knowledge is indeed nothing but insight into the grounds of things, and in the concept this insight is summed up. The 'what' is the same as the 'why.' We apprehend the *concept* of the thing as soon as we apprehend its *causes*.<sup>3</sup> So far, Definition has the same problem as Demonstration. In both we try to discover the means by which the object has been brought to be what it is.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, they do not, with Aristotle, entirely coincide. In the first place, it is clear that

<sup>1</sup> BRANDIS, pp. 288-345 gives a sketch of both.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the general works on Aristotelian Logic, see КСНУ, *De notionis definitione*, etc., and RASSOW, *Arist. de notionis definitione* (cf. *supra*, p. 212, n. 2);

HEYDER, *Fryd. d. arist. u. logik. Dialektik*, p. 247, 255, and KAMPF, *Erkenntnistheorie d. arist.* 136 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid. supra*, p. 247, 1. 2 and p. 173, -

• §

everything which admits of demonstration does not equally admit of definition; for negatives, particulars, and propositions predicating properties, can all be demonstrated, whereas definition is always universal and affirmative, and is not concerned with mere properties but with the substantial essence only.<sup>1</sup> The converse is no less true—not everything that can be defined admits of demonstration, as may be seen at once from the fact that demonstrations must start from undemonstrable definitions.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it seems to be true in general, that the contents of a definition are undemonstrable by syllogisms: for demonstration *presupposes* a knowledge of the essence of the object, while this is precisely what definition seeks. The one points out that a property belongs as predicate to a certain subject; the other does not concern itself with individual properties, but with the essence itself. The one inquires for a ‘*that*,’<sup>3</sup> the other for a ‘*what*’;<sup>4</sup> and in order to specify *what* anything is, we must first know *that* it is.<sup>5</sup> Here, however, we must draw a distinction. The fact is that a definition cannot be derived through a single syllogism. We cannot take that which is asserted in the definition of an object and use it as the predicate of a middle term in our major premiss, in order to attach it again in the conclusion to the object which was to be defined: for if, in such a process, we are dealing with not merely one or other of the properties, but with the whole concept of the object, then it must

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 90, b, 18 sqq. (cf. *supra*, p. 246 sqq.). Another kindred reason is there given also.

<sup>3</sup> ὅτι ἢ ἔστι τὸδε κατὰ τοῦδε ὅν ἐστιν.

<sup>4</sup> *Anal. Post.* *ibid.* 90, b, 2<sup>o</sup> sqq.; cf. c. 7, 92, b, 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* c. 7, 92, b, 4.

follow that both major and minor premisses would be alike definitions—the one of the middle term and the other of the minor. A proper definition, however, cannot be applied to any other object except the one to be defined.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, in every definition, the subject and the predicate must be equal in comprehension and extension, so that the universal affirmative proposition which expresses the definition, must always be simply convertible. Therefore it follows that, by such a process as we have described, we should only be demonstrating the same by the same,<sup>2</sup> and should get, not a real definition, but a verbal explanation.<sup>3</sup>

Plato's method of arriving at the idea by means of division is no better; for the division presupposes the concept.<sup>4</sup> The same objection also applies to the method<sup>5</sup> of assuming a definition and proving its validity *a posteriori* by reference to individuals; for how can we feel certain that the hypothesis which we assumed, does really express the idea of the object, and not merely a number of particular marks?<sup>6</sup> If, lastly, we endeavoured to bring definition within the province

<sup>1</sup> *Vid. supra*, p. 216 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 4. As an illustration he uses the definition of the soul as 'a self-moving number.' If we wished to establish this by means of the syllogism: 'everything that is itself the cause of life is a self-moving number; the soul is itself the cause of life, &c.' this would be insufficient, for in this way we could only prove that the soul is a self-moving number, and not that its *whole* essence, its concept, is contained in this definition. In order to show this, we should

have to argue: 'the concept of that which is itself the cause of life consists in its being a self-moving number; the concept of the soul consists in its being itself the cause of life.' &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. c. 7, 32, b, 5, 26 sqq.; cf. c. 10 *init.* i. 1. 71, a, 11; *Top.* i. 5 *init.*; *Metaph.* vii. 4, 1030, a, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Vid. supra*, p. 245. a. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Which one of the philosophers of that time (we know not who) had likewise noted.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* i. 1. and also

of the epagogic process, we should be met with the difficulty that induction never brings us to a 'what,' but always to a 'that.'<sup>1</sup> But although definition can neither be obtained by demonstration nor by induction, so long as they are separately used, yet Aristotle thinks it possible to reach it by a union of the two. When experience in the first instance has taught us that certain characteristics appertain to an object, and we begin to search for their causes, or for the conception which links them to their subject, we are so establishing by demonstration the essence of the thing;<sup>2</sup> and if we continue this process until the object is defined in all its aspects,<sup>3</sup> we at last obtain the concept of it. Although syllogistic demonstration, therefore, may be insufficient to constitute a perfect definition, yet it helps us to find it,<sup>4</sup> and in this sense definition may be said to be under another form a demonstration of the essence.<sup>5</sup> This process is admissible in every case but that of things the being of which is not dependent on any causes outside themselves; and the conception of

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* c. 7, 92, a, 37: Induction shows that something in general is of such and such a kind, by proving that it is so in all particular instances; but this is equivalent to proving merely a *τι* *ἔστιν* ἢ οὐκ *ἔστιν*, not the *τί* *ἔστιν*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* c. 8, 93, a, 14 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> It is necessary at this point to fill out the too short hints of Aristotle's statement by reference to the argument cited at p. 216, n. 1 *supra*, from *Anal. Post.* ii. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 8 *fin.*: συλλογισμὸς μὲν τοῦ τί *ἔστιν* οὐ γίνεται

οὐδ' ἀποδείξαι, δῆλον μέντοι διὰ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ δι' ἀποδείξεως· ὅτι οὐτ' ἄνευ ἀποδείξεως ἔστι γινώσκειν τὸ τί *ἔστιν* οὐ *ἔστιν* αἰτίων ἄλλα, οὐτ' ἔστιν ἀποδείξαι αὐτοῦ.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* c. 10, 94, a, 11: *ἔστιν* ἕκαστος δρισμὸς εἰς μὲν λόγος τοῦ τί *ἔστιν* ἀναπόδεκτος, εἰς δὲ συλλογισμὸς τοῦ τί *ἔστιν*, πρῶτος διαφέρει τῆς ἀποδείξεως, τρίτος δὲ τῆς τοῦ τί *ἔστιν* ἀποδείξεως συμπεράσμα· the fuller explanation of which is given above. That definitions of the latter kind do not *prove* Aristotle tells us in *De An.* *vid. supra*, p. 178, n.

these can only be postulated as immediately certain, or elucidated by induction.<sup>1</sup>

From these researches into the nature and conditions of Definition we obtain some important rules as to the method by which in practice it is arrived at. Since the essential nature of an object<sup>2</sup> can only be defined genetically by the indication of its causes, Definition must embrace those distinctive characteristics by which the object is actually made to be what it is. It must, by Aristotle's rule, be got at by means of that which is prior and more known; nor must these principles be such as are prior in our knowledge, but such as are prior and more known in themselves. It is allowable to prefer the former only in the case of scholars who are incompetent to understand the latter; but in such a case they get nothing which really elucidates the essence of the object.<sup>3</sup> This rule, indeed, follows from the axiom that Definition consists of the genus and the specific differences: for the genus is

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. c. 9: ἔστι δὲ τῶν μὲν ἑτερόν τι αἰτίον, τῶν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν. ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν τί ἔστιν τὰ μὲν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀρχαί εἰσιν, ἀ καὶ εἶναι καὶ τί ἔστιν ὑποθέσθαι δεῖ ἢ ἄλλον τρόπον φανερὰ ποιῆσαι. Cf. preceding note and *Anal. Post.* *ibid.* 94, a, 9: ὁ δὲ τῶν ἡμέσων ὁρισμὸς θέσις ἐστὶ τοῦ τί ἔστιν ἀναπόδεκτος. *Μεταφ.* ix. 6, 1048, a, 35: δῆλον δ' ἐπὶ τῶν καθέκαστα τῇ ἐπαγωγῇ ὁ βουλόμεθα λέγειν, καὶ οὐ δεῖ παντὸς ἔρον ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀνύλογον συναρᾶν; and above, p. 253. To Induction also belongs the process which is described in *De An.* i. 1, 402, b, 16: ἔστι δ' αὖ

μῦθος τὸ τί ἐστὶ γινώσκον χρῆσθαι εἶναι πρὸς τὸ θεωρεῖν τὰς αἰτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων ταῖς οὐσίαις . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνέκταλον τὸ συμβεβηκότα συμβάλλεται μέγα μέρος πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι τὸ τί ἐστίν: for a definition is only correct when it explains all the συμβεβηκότα (i.e. the *καθ' αὐτὸ* συμβεβηκότα, the essential properties; *vid.* p. 214, n. 3 *supra*) of an object. On immediate knowledge, cf. p. 246 *sqq.*, 197 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Of course with the exception of the ἡμεῖς just mentioned, i.e. that which is conditional on no principle other than itself.

<sup>3</sup> *Top.* vi. 4; cf. p. 206, n. 2 *supra*.

prior and more certain than its contents, and the differentiae are prior to the species which they mark off.<sup>1</sup> Inversely we obtain the same result: for if Definition consists in specifying the aggregate determining characteristics by which the object is conditioned in its essential nature, it must include the genus and the differentiae, for these are simply the scientific expression of those causes which in their coincidence produce the object.<sup>2</sup> But these, in their turn, are definitely related to one another in an order of superiority and inferiority. The genus is narrowed by the first of the differentiating marks; then the species so produced is further narrowed by the second, and so on. It is not, therefore, a matter of indifference in what order the separate properties shall follow in any definition.<sup>3</sup> A definition, in fact, implies not a mere enumeration of the essential marks,<sup>4</sup> but also the completeness<sup>5</sup> and the proper sequence of them.<sup>6</sup> Bearing this in mind, it will be found that in the descent from universals to particulars the practice of

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* 141, b, 28; cf. *supra*, p. 215, n. 1, 216, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This follows from the passages cited *supra*, p. 173, n. 2, compared with pp. 215, n. 1, 244, n. 3. By reason of this connection *Topics* vi. 5 sq., immediately after the remarks on the *πρότερα καὶ γνωριμώτερα*, gives rules for the correct determination of the definition by *γένος* and *διαφορά*.

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 96, b, 30; cf. 97, a, 23 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Τὰ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι κατηγορούμενα, αἱ τοῦ γένους διαφοραί.* It is obvious that only such things

can occur in the definition; cf. p. 217 sqq., *Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 96, b, 1 sqq., i. 23, 84, a, 13., *Top.* vi. 6; and other passages WAITZ on *Categ.* 2, a, 20.

<sup>5</sup> It has been already remarked on p. 246, that the number of intermediate grades must be a limited one. Cf. also *Anal. Post.* ii. 12, 95, b, 13 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> *Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 97, a, 23: *εἰς δὲ τὸ κατασκευάζειν ὅρον δὲ τῶν διαρίσεων τριῶν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι, τοῦ λαβεῖν τὰ κατηγορούμενα ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτα τέλει ἢ πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα.*



progressive division is our surest method, while a correspondingly gradual building up of concepts is equally proper to the upward process towards the universal.<sup>1</sup> And thus Plato's method, though Aristotle could not accept it as a satisfactory process for deducing definitions, was yet recognised and further worked out by him as a means to their discovery.<sup>2</sup>

Supposing, then, that we have defined and surveyed the whole field of the knowledge of concepts on this method, we shall obtain a system of ideas such as Plato looked for,<sup>3</sup> carrying us in an unbroken line from the Summa Genera through all the intermediate members down to the lowest species. And since scientific deduction must consist in the specification of causes, and since each specific difference in the upward scale implies the introduction of a new cause, and every added cause creates a corresponding differentia, it results that our logical structure must exactly correspond with the actual sequence and concatenation of causes. Plato never undertook actually to set forth that derivation of everything knowable out of unity, which he saw ahead as the end and goal of science. Aristotle

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle includes both, without further separating them, in the concept of Division. For this he gives full rules in *Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 96, b, 15-97, b, 25; *Top.* vi. 5, 6; *Part. Anim.* i. 2, 3. Like Plato (ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. p. 524 sq.), he also considers that the most important thing is that the division should be continuous, should omit no intermediate grade, and should totally exhaust

the object to be divided; and lastly (to which Plato devoted less attention), that it should not proceed by means of deduced or contingent differences, but by the essential ones. Cf. preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> Two further rules, contained especially in the sixth book of the *Topics*—where he enumerates at length the mistakes made in omitted here.

*ibid.* p. 525, 526.

considers such a demonstration to be quite impracticable. The highest genera, according to him, are no more capable of being derived from any one higher principle than are the special postulates of each science.<sup>1</sup> They are connected, not by any complete community of nature, but only by a kind of analogy,<sup>2</sup> and the reason

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 32, 88, a, 31 sqq., &c.; *vid. supra* p. 246. sqq. Aristotle says, in *Metaph.* xii. 4, 1070, b, 1 (παρὰ γὰρ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ κατηγορούμενα οὐθέν ἐστι κοινόν), that the categories especially can be deduced neither from one another nor from a higher common genus: v. 28, 1024, b, 9 (where the same is said of Form and Matter); xi. 9, 1065, b, 8; *Phys.* iii. 1, 200, b, 34; *De An.* i. 5, 410, a, 13; *Eth. N.* i. 4, 1096, a, 19, 23 sqq.; cf. TRENDLENBURG, *Hist. Beitr.* i. 149 sq. The concepts, which one would be most inclined to consider the highest genera, 'Being' and 'One,' are no γένη: *Metaph.* iii. 3, 998, b, 22; viii. 6, 1045, b, 5; x. 2, 1053, b, 21; xi. 1, 1059, b, 27 sq.; xii. 4, 1070, b, 7; *Eth. N.* *ibid.*; *Anal. Post.* ii. 7, 92, b, 14; *Top.* iv. 1, 121, a, 16, c. 6, 127, a, 26 sqq. Cf. TRENDLENBURG, *loc. cit.* 67; BONITZ and SCHWEGLER on *Metaph.* iii. 3 (more on p. 276 *infra*). Therefore the principle 'that eventually everything is contained in a single highest concept as in a common genus,' which STRÜMPPELL, *Gesch. d. theor. Phil. d. Gr.* p. 193, gives as an assertion of Aristotle, is not really Aristotelian.

<sup>2</sup> In *Metaph.* v. 6, 1016, b, 31, four kinds of Unity are distinguished (somewhat different is the other fourfold enumera-

tion in *Metaph.* x. 1, in which the unity of analogy does not occur): the unity of number, of species, of genus, and of analogy. Each of these unities includes in it the subsequent unities (*i.e.* that which in number is one is also one in species, &c.); but not *vice versa*. Hence the unity of Analogy can occur even in those things which belong to no common genus (cf. *Part. An.* i. 5, 645, b, 26: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸ κοινὸν κατ' ἀναλογίαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ γένος, τὰ δὲ κατ' εἶδος). It occurs in everything ὅσα ἔχει ὡς ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο. It consists in identity of relation (ἰσότης λόγων), and hence supposes at least four members (*Eth. N.* v. 6, 1131, a, 31). Its formula is: ὡς τοῦτο ἐν τούτῳ ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο, τόδε ἐν τῷδε ἢ πρὸς τόδε (*Metaph.* ix. 6, 1048, b, 7; cf. *Post.* 21, 1457, b, 16). It is found not only in quantitative identity, such as arithmetical and geometrical (*Eth. N.* v. 7, 1131, b, 12, 1132, a, 1), but also in qualitative identity, such as similarity (*Gen. et Corr.* ii. 8, 333, a, 26 sqq.), or in identity of operation (cf. *Part. An.* i. 5, 645, b, 9: τὸ ἀνάλογον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν; *ibid.* i. 4, 644, b, 11; ii. 6, 652, a, 3), and in fact in all categories (*Metaph.* xiv. 6, 1093, b, 18). Besides those in the passages just mentioned, other instances are given in *De Part.*

why the sciences are not all one. In this respect—this class of actual existence has its own peculiar sort of knowledge which applies to it. If it is the case among the sciences we find one which is a science of first principles—the First Philosophy—we must not expect it to devoting its subject-matter to any other principle of being. In the sciences we find that it is necessary, before proceeding to any further knowledge that we should inquire into all the most general notions of view from which the world of actual existence can be considered, or in other words abstracted the most generic concepts themselves.

This it is with which the question of the uniqueness is concerned, and these form accordingly the connecting link, in Aristotle's philosophical system, between Logic and Metaphysics.

*Anim.*, *Anal. Pri.* i. 46, 51, i. 22 and *Rhet.* iii. 6 *fm.* That which cannot be deduced from any other thing (the highest principles), must be explained by analogy, as, for example, the concepts of Matter, of Form, &c.: cf. *Metaph.* ix. 6 (*vid. sup.* p. 268, x. 1: xii. 4, ix. 7, 16 sqq., and *Phys.* i. 7, 191, a, 7. This is the account given by TREDEKLEBSBURG in his *Hist. Boët.* i. 151 sqq. 'Analogy' is of special importance to Aristotle in his study of Natural History; see thereon *infra*, and cf. MEYER, *Arist. Tierkunde*, 334 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Post.* i. 28 init.: μία  
δ' ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐνὸς γένους...

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purpose of 'categories' is not to describe things by their actual qualities, nor yet to set forth the general conceptions which are needful for this purpose. They are confined to pointing out the different sides which may be kept in view in any such description. In Aristotle's intention, they are meant to give us, not real conceptions, but only the framework into which all real conceptions are to be set, whether they are confined to one division of the framework or extend to several.<sup>1</sup>

*ἀπὸ* and *ἐντελέχεια*, with the distinction of truth and falsity, as matters to be superadded to the distinctions expressed by the categories (*Metaph.* v. 7, 1017, a, 7, 22, 31, 35, vi. 2 *init.*, ix. 10 *init.*, c. 1, 1045, b, 32, xiv. 2, 1069, a, 26; *De An.* i. 1, 402, a, 22, cf. TRENDelenburg, *Gesch. der Kategorienlehre*, *ut supra*, p. 157 sqq.; BONITZ, *ut supra*, p. 19 sq.), but themselves running through the various categories indifferently (*Phys.* iii. 1, 200, b, 26; *Metaph.* ix. 10 *init.*: τὸ δὲ κατὰ δόξαν καὶ ἐντέλειαν τοῦτον). Aristotle does not tell us why they cannot be reckoned among the categories; but the reason seems to be that indicated above, viz. that these ideas do not merely relate, like those of substance, quality, &c., to the formal character and the formal differences of that which falls under them, but designate definite real relations of actual being.

<sup>1</sup> Thus also BRANDIS, ii. b, 394 sqq. On the other hand TRENDelenburg, *ibid.* 162 sq. explains the absence of 'Possibility and Actuality' from the categories by saying that the latter are 'separated predicates,' whilst

the former is 'no real predicate.' It seems, however, that precisely the opposite is the case. The categories are *not themselves* directly taken as predicates, but only as designating the *place* of certain predicates in the scale; whereas the distinction of Possible and Actual is based on real and definite facts, the contrast between the different conditions of development in individual things, and the opposition in the universe as a whole between the corporeal and the spiritual. The one kind of distinction is only an abstract, metaphysical expression of the other. But it is not possible entirely to agree with BONITZ when he says on p. 18, 21, that the categories 'are only meant to render possible a survey of what is contained in the empirical data,' and hence that 'such concepts are excluded as extend beyond the comprehension of empirical data, to any kind of explanation of them.' For the concept of Motion is given by experience just as much as that of Action and Passion, and the concept of Substance is as valuable for 'explaining the data' as that of form and matter, or of

Of the completeness of this framework, Aristotle is convinced,<sup>1</sup> but he nowhere tells us how he came to set

actuality and possibility.—Nor does it seem possible to say with BRENTANO (*loc. cit.* p. 82 sq.), that the categories are 'real concepts,' if by this we are to understand such concepts as designate the common object-matter of a series of experiences, such as are the concepts of weight, extension, thought, &c. For those very categories which are most frequently and universally applied—substance, quantity, quality, relation, action, and passion—designate merely formal relations, and hence are adapted to cover and apply to a content of the most diverse character; and though this is not so absolutely true of others—such as *πῶς*, *ποτέ*, or *κείσθαι*—that peculiarity only proves that Aristotle was not able strictly to carry out through them all the point of view with which he started his category-scheme as a whole. BRENTANO himself, at p. 131 sq., admits that 'the distinction of the categories is not a real distinction.'

<sup>1</sup> PRANTL, *Gesch. d. Log.* i. 204 sqq., denies that Aristotle adopted any absolutely fixed number of categories; but it is clear, not only from the enumerations given at p. 274, n. 2 and p. 282, n. 3, but also from many other expressions, that he did. Thus we have in *Soph. El.* c. 22, *init.*: *ἐπεὶ περ ἔχομεν τὰ γένη τῶν κατηγοριῶν*—namely, the ten enumerated in *Top.* i. 9, to which at c. 4, 166, b, 14, after mentioning *τὶ* (*ταὐτὸ*), *ποῖον*, *ποσόν*, *ποιούν*, *πῶσχιον*, *διακείμενον* (really only a kind of *ποῖον*, the *διάθεσις*: see *Categ.* c.

8, 10, a, 35 sqq. *Metaph.* v. 20), he refers back with the words: *καὶ τὰλλα δ' ὡς διήρηται πρότερον.* *De An.* i. 1, 402, a, 24: *πότερον τὸδε τι καὶ οὐσία ἢ ποῖον ἢ ποσόν ἢ καὶ τις ἄλλη τῶν διαιρεθεισῶν κατηγοριῶν.* *Ibid.* c. 5, 410, a, 14: *σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ μὲν τὸδε τι τὸ δὲ ποσόν ἢ ποῖον ἢ καὶ τινα ἄλλην τῶν διαιρεθεισῶν κατηγοριῶν.* *Anal. Pri.* i. 37: *τὸ δ' ὑπάρχειν τὸδε τῷδε . . . τοσαυταχῶς ληπτέον ὅσαχῶς αἱ κατηγορίαι διήρηται.* *Metaph.* xii. 1, 1069, a, 20: *πρῶτον ἢ οὐσία, εἴτα τὸ ποῖον, εἴτα τὸ ποσόν*; vi. 2, 1026, a, 36: *τὰ σχήματα τῆς κατηγορίας, οἷον τὸ μὲν τι, τὸ δὲ ποῖον, τὸ δὲ ποσόν, τὸ δὲ πῶς, τὸ δὲ ποτέ, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο σημαίνει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον*; vii. 4, 1030, a, 18: *καὶ γὰρ τὸ τί ἐστὶν ἓνα μὲν τρόπον σημαίνει τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ τὸδε τι, ἕλλον δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν κατηγορουμένων, ποσόν, ποῖον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα*; xii. 4, 1070, a, 33: it is a question of, *πότερον ἕτεραι ἢ αἱ αὐταὶ ἀρχαὶ στοιχεῖα τῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ τῶν πρὸς τι, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ὁμοίως.* Likewise in *Metaph.* vii. 9, 1034, b, 9, xiv. 2, 1089, a, 7; *Phys.* iii. 1, 200, b, 26, after mentioning some of the categories, he refers to the rest with a mere '*αἱ ἄλλα κατηγορίαι*,' as to something well known, and in *Anal. Post.* i. 22, 83, b, 12, a, 21, the impossibility of an infinitely extended argument is proved by the assertion that the number of categories is limited to those there named. The completeness of Aristotle's list of categories is also supposed by the proof referred to at the end of p. 276, n. 2, that

out these categories and no others;<sup>1</sup> and among the categories themselves there is so little indication of any fixed principles for their evolution<sup>2</sup> that we are

there are only three kinds of motion (in the narrower sense), qualitative, quantitative, and local (*Phys.* v. 1 sq.), inasmuch as that theorem is proved by the process of exclusion. 'Motion,' Aristotle argues, 'does not occur in the categories of substance, &c.: therefore only those three categories remain.'

<sup>1</sup> Even in the lost writings no such demonstration seems to have occurred; otherwise the early commentators would have appealed to it. Whereas, on the contrary, *SIMPL. Schol. in Ar.* 79, a, 44, says: *ὅλως οὐδαμοῦ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν γενῶν οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπεφάνετο.*

<sup>2</sup> To TRENDLENBURG (in his dissertation *De Arist. Categoriais* [Berl. 1833] and the *Elementa Logices Aristotelicæ*, p. 54) belongs the credit of having first endeavoured to find one. But even his repeated explanation in *Hist. Beitr.* i. 23 sqq., 194 sq. has not persuaded us that he has really succeeded in doing so. It seems rather that the objections which RITTER, iii. 80, and still more exhaustively BONITZ, *loc. cit.* 35 sqq., have brought against his opinion, are well justified. TRENDLENBURG (and after him BIESE, *Phil. d. Arist.* i. 54 sq.) believes that in setting out these ten genera Aristotle was proximately influenced by grammatical distinctions. He suggests that *οὐσία* corresponds to the substantive, *ποσὸν* and *ποιόν* to the adjective; with *πρός τι* correspond such forms of expres-

sion as those referred to in *Categ.* c. 7; *ποῦ* and *ποτέ* are represented by the adverbs of place and time; the last four categories are to be looked for in the verb, for *ποιεῖν* and *πάσχειν* translate into a general concept the force of the active and passive voices, as *κείσθαι* renders one side of the intransitive, and *εἶχειν* the special force of the Greek perfect.—But, in the first place, as BONITZ, p. 41 sqq., fully proves, Aristotle himself nowhere gives any indication of his having arrived at his categories in this way. On the contrary, he does not distinguish the parts of speech on any such method as that which Trendelenburg's theory of the categories would presuppose, for he nowhere expressly distinguishes the adverbs, he treats the adjective (as *βῆμα*) along with the verb, and in fact the only 'parts of speech' which he names (apart from the article and conjunction) are the *ὄνομα* and the *ῥῆμα*. It is therefore not probable that grammatical forms to which, as 'parts of speech' he paid no attention, should nevertheless have guided him in distinguishing the classes of concepts. And, again, the two series do not in fact correspond to any such extent as we should have expected if Trendelenburg's supposition were correct. For 'quantity' and 'quality' may just as well be expressed by substantives (e.g. *λευκότης*, *θερμότης*, &c., *Categ.* c. 8, 9, a, 29) or verbs (*λελευκώται*,

reduced to supposing that he obtained them empirically, by putting together the main points of view from which the data of experience can be practically treated. It is true that a certain logical progress is to be found among them. We begin with the Substantial—the Thing. Next in order to this, he deals with Quali-

&c.) as by adjectives; 'action and passion' as well by substantives (*ῥᾱ́τις*, *ῥᾱ́δος*, &c.) as by verbs; 'time' not only by adverbs but also by adjectives (*χρῆσις*, *δευρεπαῖος*, &c.); very many substantives designate no substance (*Categ.* c. 5, 4, a, 14, 21); and for 'relation' a corresponding grammatical form cannot be found.—BRENTANO, *loc. cit.* p. 148 sqq., also seeks to defend the Aristotelian categories against the charge of having no scientific derivation and suggests another scheme. He believes that in arranging them Aristotle first distinguished 'substance' from 'accidents,' and, among the latter, distinguished the *absolute* from the *relative*; and that he went on to divide the former into (1) *inherences* (material = *ῥᾱ́δος*, and formal = *ῥᾱ́διον*); (2) *affections* (*ῥᾱ́διον* and *ῥᾱ́διον*, to which, at one time, Aristotle added *ῥᾱ́διον*); (3) *external circumstances* (*ῥᾱ́διον* and *ῥᾱ́διον*, and, for a time, *ῥᾱ́διον*). The question is not, however, whether it is *possible* to bring the ten categories into some logical scheme (for that could be done with any series, unless it were merely put together at haphazard), but whether Aristotle arrived at them by means of a logical deduction. And against any such supposition

there are two facts: first, that Aristotle in speaking of the categories, never indicates such a deduction, and next, that none can be found into which they naturally fit. Even in Brentano's ingenious scheme, this is not the case. If the ten categories had come about in the way he suggests, they would have been enumerated by Aristotle in a corresponding order. Instead of that, the *ῥᾱ́δος* *τι*, which, according to Brentano, should come last, stands in the middle in every enumeration (see p. 274, n. 1 and p. 282, n. 3), and its regular place (the only exception being *Phys.* v. 1) is immediately after the '*inherences*.' After it, again, the '*affections*' do not follow (as they should according to Brentano's order), but the '*external circumstances*.' Nor is the distinction of *inherences* and *affections* itself Aristotelian.—So far as a logical disposition of the categories *ex post facto* is concerned, ZELLER gives on p. 288 *infra*, that which he prefers, although he does not believe that Aristotle arrived at his list of categories by any method in which he had in his mind beforehand either that or any other logical scheme into which they were to fit.

An inquiry, therefore, into Substance, or Being as such, must be the starting-point in the investigation of the Actual.

## 2. *The First Philosophy as the Science of Being.*

As Science in general has for its task the investigation of the grounds of things,<sup>1</sup> so the highest Science must be that which refers to the last and most universal of the grounds of things. For this gives us the most comprehensive knowledge, everything else being comprehended under the most universal. It gives us the knowledge which is most difficult to attain, as the most universal principles are the furthest removed from sense experience. It gives us the surest knowledge, since it has to do with the most simple concepts and principles. It gives us the most instructive knowledge, because it points out the highest grounds, and all instruction is a setting forth of the grounds of things. It gives us that knowledge which is most truly an end to itself, in that it is concerned with the highest object of knowledge. It gives us that which dominates all other knowledge, for it establishes that end to which all knowledge serves.<sup>2</sup> But any knowledge which is to

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 163 sqq. For this we may especially cite *Metaph.* i. 1, where, with reference to prevailing views as to wisdom, it is shown (981, b, 30) that *ὁ μὲν ἔμπειρος τῶν ὁποιοῦν ἐχόντων αἰσθῆσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ σοφώτερος, ὁ δὲ τεχνίτης τῶν ἐμπείρων, χειροτέχνου δὲ ἀρχιτέκτων, αἱ δὲ θεωρητικά τῶν ποιητικῶν μᾶλλον*. Hence: *ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ σοφία περὶ τινος αἰτίας καὶ ἀρχάς ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη, δῆλον*.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* i. 2, where the above is thus summed up (982, b, 7): *ἐξ πάντων οὖν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστήμην πίπτει τὸ ζητούμενον ὄνομα [σοφία].· δεῖ γὰρ ταύτην τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν καὶ αἰτιῶν εἶναι θεωρητικὴν*. Cf. iii. 2, 996, b, 8 sqq. *Eth. N.* vi. 7. *Metaph.* vi. 1, 1026, a, 21: *τὴν τιμιωτάτην [ἐπιστήμην] δεῖ περὶ τὸ τιμιώτατον γένος εἶναι. αἱ μὲν οὖν θεωρητικαὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν αἰρετέστεραι αὕτη δὲ τῶν θεωρητικῶν*.



set forth the ultimate grounds of things must clearly include all actuality, for these ultimate grounds are simply those which explain Being as such.<sup>1</sup> Other sciences, such as Physics and Mathematics, may limit themselves to a particular sphere, the conception of which they take no further. The science of the ultimate grounds of things must go through the whole world of things, and must take them back, not to finite principles, but to their eternal causes, and, in the last resort, to that which is unmoved and incorporeal, from which proceeds all movement and formation in the corporeal world.<sup>2</sup> This science is the First Philosophy, which

<sup>1</sup> *Μεταφ.* iv. 1: ἔστιν ἐπιστήμη τις ἣ θεωρεῖ τὸ ὄν ἢ ὅν καὶ τὰ τούτῳ ὑπάρχοντα καθ' αὐτό. αὕτη δ' ἔστιν οὐδεμιὰ τῶν ἐν μέρει λεγόμενων αὕτη· οὐδεμία γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπισκοπεῖ καθόλου περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἢ ὄν, ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτοῦ τι ἀποτεμνόμενα περὶ τούτου θεωροῦσι τὸ συμβεβηκός . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἀκροτάτας αἰτίας ζητοῦμεν, δῆλον ὡς φύσεώς τινος αὐτὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καθ' αὐτήν . . . διὸ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῦ ὄντος ἢ ὄν τὰς πρώτας αἰτίας ληπτέον. Cf. note 2 and *συμπερ.* ch. iv. *paralelism.*

<sup>2</sup> See the previous note, and see also *Μεταφ.* vi. 1: αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ τὰ αἴτια ζητεῖται τῶν ὄντων, δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ἢ ὄντα. Every science has to do with certain principles and causes. ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι αὗται [ιατρικὴ, μαθηματικὴ, &c.] περὶ ἑνὸς καὶ γίνονται περιγραφόμεναι περὶ τούτου πραγματεύονται, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ περὶ ὄντος ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ἢ ὄν, οὐδὲ τοῦ τί ἔστιν οὐθέν· λόγον ποιοῦνται· ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτου αἱ μὲν αἰσθήσει ποιήσασαι αὐτὸ δῆλον, αἱ δ' ὑπόθεσιν λαβοῦσαι τὸ τί ἐστὶν οὕτω τὰ καθ'

αὐτὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῷ γένει περὶ ὃ εἰσὶν ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἢ ἀναγκαϊότερον ἢ μαλακώτερον. . . . ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδ' εἰ ἔστιν ἢ μὴ ἔστι τὸ γένος περὶ ὃ πραγματεύονται οὐδὲν λέγουσι διὰ τὸ τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι διανοίας τὸ τε τί ἔστι δῆλον ποιεῖν καὶ εἰ ἔστιν. So it is with Physics and Mathematics, the former being concerned with that which is moved and in which the Form is not separated from the Matter, the latter being at the best concerned with that which is abstracted from Matter and Movement, but which does not exist of itself as immaterial and unmoved (cf. p. 183, n. 3): εἰ δὲ τί ἔστιν αἰδίων καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ χωριστὸν, φανερόν ὅτι θεωρητικῆς τὸ γινώσκειν. οὐ μέντοι φυσικῆς γε . . . οὐδὲ μαθηματικῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶτερας ἀμφοῖν. The object of this science is the χωριστὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα· ἀνάγκη δὲ πάντα μὲν τὰ αἴτια αἰδία εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ ταῦτα· ταῦτα γὰρ αἴτια τοῖς φανοῖσι τῷ θεῶν. In them, if anywhere, τὸ θεῖον must be sought; with them stands or falls the possibility of

that this science must needs resume in itself the content of all other sciences, is removed in Aristotle's mind by the distinction he draws between the different senses of Being. As Philosophy in general has to do with Essential Being, so there will be as many sections of Philosophy as there are kinds of Essential Being.<sup>1</sup> As Being determinate is distinguished from Being in general, so is the First Philosophy as the universal science distinguished from the special sciences. It deals with the particular also, not in its particularity, but as a form of Being. It abstracts from the peculiarities whereby a particular thing distinguishes itself from others, in order to have regard to that only in it which appertains to all Being.<sup>2</sup> The objection that Substance itself must needs be treated in other ways than that

οὐχ ὁμωνύμως . . . τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι οὐσίαι ὄντα λέγεται, τὰ δ' ὅτι πάθη οὐσίας, τὰ δ' ὅτι ὁδὸς εἰς οὐσίαν, ἢ φθορὰ ἢ στερήσεις ἢ ποιότητες ἢ ποιητικά ἢ γεννητικά οὐσίας, ἢ τῶν πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν λεγομένων, ἢ τούτων τινὸς ἀποφάσεις ἢ οὐσίας· διὸ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν εἶναι μὴ ὄν φασιν. The consideration of One also belongs to this science, for the *ἐν* and the *ὄν* are (*ibid.* 1003, b, 22) ταῦτόν καὶ μ' αὐτὴ φύσις τῷ ἀκολουθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀρχὴ καὶ αἴτιον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐνὶ λόγῳ δηλούμενα . . . δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ὄντα μιᾷ θεωρῆσαι ἢ ὄντα. πανταχοῦ δὲ κυρίως τοῦ πρώτου ἢ ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἐξ οὗ τὰ ἄλλα ἡρτῆται καὶ δι' ὃ λέγονται. εἰ οὖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία, τῶν οὐσιῶν ἂν δοῖται τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἔχειν τὸν φιλόσοφον. . . διὸ καὶ τοῦ ὄντος ὅσα εἶδη θεωρῆσαι μιᾷ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμης τῷ γένει τὰ τε εἶδη τῶν εἰδῶν. Further, 1004, a, 9 sqq.

25, b, 27 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, a, 2, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, a, 9 sqq. Since the concepts of the One and the Many, of Identity and Distinction, &c., relate to one and the same object, therefore one and the same science must deal with them; 1004, b, 5: ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦ ἐνὸς ἢ ἐν καὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἢ ὂν ταῦτα καθ' αὐτὰ ἐστὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἢ ἀριθμοὶ ἢ γραμμαὶ ἢ κτῆ. δῆλον ὡς ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τί ἐστὶ γνωρίσαι καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτοῖς. As the mathematical and physical properties of things form a special province, οὕτω καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἢ ὂν ἐστὶ τινα ἴδια, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ὧν τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐπισκεψασθαι τὰ ληθῆς. *Ibid.* 1005, a, 8. This is further illustrated in xi. 3, 1061, a, 28 sqq.

which proceeds by deducing its essential attributes would not trouble Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> since the same thing would be true of the fundamental conceptions of any science whatever. To the question whether the First Philosophy would also deal with the general principles of scientific procedure, Aristotle answers in the affirmative, inasmuch as these principles themselves relate to Being in general rather than to any particular class of Being. In fact, he proceeds immediately to a detailed investigation of the law of Contradiction and the Excluded Middle, which by reason of its relation to Methodology has been already discussed at p. 251. By Aristotle, however, these inquiries are in the present connection treated ontologically, as giving knowledge of the actual, for which reason he includes them in his First Philosophy.<sup>2</sup>

3. *The Fundamental Questions of Metaphysics and their Treatment by earlier Philosophers.*

The forerunners of Aristotle had left him a series of problems in the way of metaphysical inquiry for which he found it necessary to obtain a new solution. The most important of these, to the answering of which the fundamental ideas of his system are immediately directed, were the following :

1. First of all, how are we to think of the actual? Is there nothing but corporeal existence, as the pre-Socratic natural philosophy assumed? Or is there, beside and above that, something uncorporeal, as

<sup>1</sup> It is nowhere expressly answered in the *Metaphysics*.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* iv. 3.

Anaxagoras, the Megarians and Plato said? Are the ultimate grounds of things of the nature of matter only, or is form to be distinguished from matter as a peculiar and a higher principle?

2. Connected with this is the question of the relation of the Individual to the Universal. What is that which is essential and in the last resort actual? Is it the individual things or the universal ideas, or is there perhaps in truth only one universal Being? The first was the common view which had lately come out, bluntly enough, in the Nominalism of Antisthenes; the second was the theory of Plato; the third that of Parmenides and of Euclides after him.

3. Seeing that unity of being and manifold existence are both given in experience, how can we hold these two together in thought? Can the One be at the same time a manifold, including in itself a number of parts and qualities? Can the Many come together in an actual unity? These questions also were variously answered. Parmenides and Zeno had denied that the two ideas could be reconciled, and had therefore declared the manifold to be a delusion, while the Sophists used the assumption of the manifold for their theory of argument, as Antisthenes for his theory of knowledge.<sup>1</sup> The Physicists of the Atomic and Empedoclean schools limited the relation between the Many and the One to that of an external and mechanical juxtaposition of parts. The Pythagoreans found in number, and Plato, with keener philosophic insight, in his Ideas, a means of combining a multitude of different

<sup>1</sup> See ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. 1, pp. 985 etc.

determinations of being in an inner unity, while the corresponding relation in sensible things explained itself, according to Plato, by impact.

4. Equally different were the views held as to the passing of the one into another—that is, as to the theory of Change and Becoming. How can being become not-being, or not-being being? How can anything come to be or cease to be? How is movement possible, or change? Such were the questions that Parmenides and Zeno had asked in doubt, and the Megarians and the Sophists had repeated their questionings. The like difficulties drove Empedocles and Anaxagoras, Leucippus and Democritus to explain the coming to be and ceasing to be of all things by the combinations and separations of unchangeable matter. Plato himself so far agreed with them that he confined change to the sphere of appearances, and excepted from it all that was truly actual.

Aristotle has all these questions clearly in view. To the first two problems related most<sup>1</sup> of the *ἀπορίαι* with which he opens his great work on Metaphysics, after the introductory discussions of the first book. Are sensible things the only essential being, or is there besides them some other? Is the 'other' of one kind, or is it manifold like the Ideas and mathematical entities of Plato?<sup>2</sup> The limitation of Being to sensible things is contradicted by the series of arguments on which Plato had already based his Ideal Theory: such as, that the

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of those just mentioned, which are concerned with the office of the First Philosophy in general.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 2, 997, a, 34 sqq. (xi. 1, 1059, a, 38, c. 2, 1060, b, 23), iii. 6, viii. 2.

particular things of sense, passing and indistinct as they are, can be no object of knowledge ;<sup>1</sup> and that all the world of sense, as passing, presupposes an eternal—as moved, presupposes an unmoved—as formed, presupposes a forming cause.<sup>2</sup> These Platonic assumptions, however, as we presently find, are beset by all manner of difficulties. The problem returns in the form of the question<sup>3</sup> whether the ultimate grounds of things are to be sought for in their genera, or in their constituent parts—the latter being the basis of their material conditions, the other the basis of their formal determinations.<sup>4</sup> For either view plausible arguments may be adduced. On the one hand there is the analogy of corporeal things, whose constituent parts we name when we have to explain their character. On the other hand there are the conditions of knowledge, which we attain to by a process of determination through concepts in the assignment of genera and species. And as between these again there arises immediately the question, whether the highest genera or the lowest species ought to be treated as the true *principia*. The former would be universal, including all individual existence as an *ultimate* principle should do. The latter would be determinate conceptions, and out of such only could the individual in its peculiarity of character be obtained.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* vii. 15, 1039, b, 27; b, 21).

iv. 5, 1009, a, 36, 1010, a, 3, cf. i. 6, 987, a, 34; xiii. 9, 1086, a, 37, b, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 4, 999, b, 3 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 3 : πότερον δεῖ τὰ γένη στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀρχὰς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἢ μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἐνυπαρχόντων ἐστὶν ἕκαστον πρῶτον (xi. 1, 1059,

<sup>4</sup> *Vide supra*, ch. v.

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 998, b, 14 sqq. (xi. 1, 1059, b, 34). Among the varied and often intricate forms of Aristotle's dialectic, it is only possible to state here the leading line of reasoning.

On the like considerations rests the other difficulty, to which Aristotle rightly gives special prominence<sup>1</sup>—the question whether it is only individual things that are actual, or whether the universal of the genera be actual also.<sup>2</sup> The former theory seems untenable because the sphere of individual existences is unlimited and of that which is unlimited no knowledge is possible, and since all knowledge in any case is of universals. The latter is open to all the objections which lie against the theory of a universal existing independently, or the Ideal Theory of Plato.<sup>3</sup> An application of this question to a particular case is contained in the further inquiry, whether the conceptions of the One and of Being denote anything substantial or are only predicates for some subject of a different nature. Those who accept universals at all (*e.g.* Number) as in any way substantial, must affirm the first proposition; but the opposite opinion is not only supported by the analogy of the whole world of concrete things, but also by the argument that you cannot treat the One as substance without denying, as did Parmenides, the existence of

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 4 *init.* c. 6 *fin.* (cf. vii. 13 sq.), xlii. 6, xi. 2 *init.*, *ibid.* 1060, b, 19. In the first passage this Apory is called the *πασῶν χαλεπωτάτη καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτη θεωρήσαι*; similarly in xlii. 10, 1086, a, 10; and we shall find later on, that its importance and difficulty rest not merely on the opposition of Aristotle to Plato, but also on the intrinsic contradiction involved in the foundations of his own system.

<sup>2</sup> That this Apory coincides with that adduced on p. 298, Aristotle himself asserts in

*Metaph.* iii. 4, 999, b, 1: *εἰ μὲν οὖν μηθέν ἐστι παρὰ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστα, οὐθὲν ἂν εἴη νοητὸν ἀλλὰ πάντα αἰσθητὰ*, and hence he here again adduces the reasons, which were there mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 4, c. 6, 1003, a, 5, cf. p. 161, 4. Only another expression for the above is the question (iii. 4, 999, b, 24, xi. 2 *fin.*), whether the *ἀρχαὶ* are *εἰδεῖ* *ἐν* or *ἀριθμῶ* *ἐν*: τὸ γὰρ ἀριθμῶ *ἐν* ἢ τὸ καθέκαστον λέγειν διαφέρει οὐθὲν (999, b, 33 cf. c. 6, 1002, b, 30).

the Many, as such.<sup>1</sup> To the same head belongs the question whether Numbers and Figures are Substances or no, and to this also opposite answers are possible. For as the qualities of bodies are mere predicates from which we distinguish the bodies themselves as their substrata, and as these bodies presuppose, as their elements, the surface, the line, the point, and unity, it would seem that surface and unity must be as substantial as body is; while on the other hand these have not any existence for themselves but only in corporeal things, and they do not come to be and cease to be, as Substances do.<sup>2</sup> Yet another difficulty which leads back to the relation of the individual to the Universal is this. The *principia* must on the one hand, as it seems, be of a potential character, since possibility precedes actuality: on the other hand, they must be actual, since otherwise Being would be merely accidental.<sup>3</sup> Individual things, indeed, do actually exist: whereas the universal concept, except in so far as it has found for itself a place in individual entities, exists only potentially. And finally, if there be besides the corporeal, an incorporeal, and beside the changing, an eternal, the final question must be whether both of these have the same *principia*<sup>4</sup> or not. If we say Yes, it seems impossible to explain the difference between them. If we say No, then we must

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 4, 1001, a, 3 sqq., and, referring to this, x. 2, xi. 1, 1059, b, 27, c. 2, 1060, a, 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 5 (cf. xi. 2, 1060, b, 12 sqq., and on p. 1002, b, 32: viii. 5 *init.* c. 3, 1043, b, 15). We shall meet with further objections to this view in the criticism

of the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 6, 1002, b, 32 cf. BONITZ and SCHWEGLER on this passage.

<sup>4</sup> As Plato supposed, in full accordance with Aristotle's view. Cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. p. 628 sq. 805 sq.



decide whether the *principia* of the changeable are themselves changeable or unchangeable. If they be changing, then we must go back to deeper *principia*, with which the same dilemma will recur. If they be unchangeable, then we have to explain how it can be that out of the unchanging, in one case the changeable, in another the unchangeable, arises.<sup>1</sup> The like difficulty, in truth, applies to all the different classes of Being. How, for example, is it possible that things which fall under wholly different categories, such as those of Substance and Relation, can lead back to principles that are one and the same?<sup>2</sup>

The other questions stated above—those relating to the unity of the manifold, and the possibility of change—were clearly present to Aristotle's mind, and he sought in the first principles of his *Metaphysics* to find a solution for them. The combination of the manifold into unity, concerns him chiefly as leading up to the inquiry how the genus and the differentia can be one in conception;<sup>3</sup> though he recognises that the same question may be raised in all cases where things of a different nature are combined.<sup>4</sup> Aristotle's answer, in all such

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 4, 1000, a. 5 sqq. (xi. 2, 1060, a. 27).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 4. Aristotle answers (*ibid.* 1070, b. 17) that the final grounds of things are only analogically the same for all.

<sup>3</sup> This question also occurs in *Anal. Post.* ii. 6, 92, a. 29. In *De Interpr.* c. 5, 17, a. 13, it is proposed, discussed more fully in *Metaph.* vii. 12, again touched upon in viii. 3, 1043, b. 4 sqq.,

1044, a. 5, and settled in the manner stated in the text by viii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Thus with regard to numbers (*Metaph.* viii. 3, 1044, a. 2, c. 6 *init.*), and to the relation between soul and body (c. 6, 1045, b. 11; *De An.* ii. 1, 412, b. 6 sqq.): but also in many other cases: cf. *Metaph.* viii. 6, 1045, b. 12: καίτοι ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἐν πάσαις, &c.

cases, as will be seen, is in its essence one and the same. It is based upon the relation of the possible and the actual—of Matter and Form.<sup>1</sup> The problems of Becoming and Change are of still greater importance for the Aristotelian system. If a thing comes to be, does it arise out of being or out of not-being? If a thing ceases to be, does it become something, or nothing? Does change mean the becoming of opposite out of opposite, or of the same out of the same? The one seems to be impossible—because nothing can come out of nothing, nor can anything return to nothing, nor take on it the qualities of its opposite (*e.g.* warmth the qualities of cold). The other alternative is equally impossible, because it is absurd that anything should at a definite time come to be that which it already is.<sup>2</sup> A similar case is the analogous problem whether those things which act upon each other are likes or opposites.<sup>3</sup> In all these questions, difficulties are brought to light which are soluble only by a careful inquiry into the first principles of philosophy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Phys.* i. 2 *fin.*, where Lycophron and others are blamed for running into difficulties by the inference that one must at the same time be many: ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον ταῦτόν ἐν τε καὶ πολλὰ εἶναι, μὴ τῶντικείμενα δέ· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἐν καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἐντελεχείᾳ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Phys.* i. 6, 189, a, 22, c. 7, 190, b, 30, c. 8 *init.* *ibid.* 191, b, 10 sqq., *Gen. et Corr.* i. 3 *init.* *ibid.* 317, b, 20 sqq. *Metaph.* xii. 1 *fin.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Gen. et Corr.* i. 7; *Phys.* i. 6, 189, a, 22, c. 7, 190, b, 29, c. 8 191, a, 34. To Aristotle

this question coincides with the other, as to Change, since that which acts corresponds with that which suffers: ὥστ' ἀνάγκη τὸ πάσχον εἰς τὸ ποιοῦν μεταβάλλειν (*Gen. et Corr.* i. 7, 324, a, 9). Hence it is true that, on the one hand, things which are not opposed cannot act upon one another: οὐκ ἐξίστησι γὰρ ἄλληλα τῆς φύσεως ὅσα μήτ' ἐναντία μήτ' ἐξ ἐναντίων ἐστὶ (*ibid.* p. 323, b, 28); but on the other hand, neither can absolute opposites: ὅπ' ἀλλήλων γὰρ πάσχειν τῶναντία ἀδύνατον (*Phys.* i. 7, 190, b, 33).

The contributions which his forerunners had made towards their solution, did not in any way satisfy Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> He takes exception to most of the pre-Socratic philosophies primarily because of their materialism, which made it impossible for them to reach out to the first principles of the incorporeal;<sup>2</sup> and he further objects that they practically took no account of ideal and final causes.<sup>3</sup>

The earlier Ionic school is criticised by him because of the difficulties which beset every one of their pre-suppositions,<sup>4</sup> because of their tendency to overlook the moving cause,<sup>5</sup> and because of the superficial way in which they erected an arbitrarily chosen element into the universal basis of things, whereas the sensible qualities and changes of bodies are conditioned by the opposition of different elements.<sup>6</sup>

The same criticism holds for Heraclitus, in so far as he agrees with the Ionic school in assigning a material element as the basis.<sup>7</sup> To his peculiar doctrine as to the flux of all things and the meeting of opposites, Aristotle has other objections. He thinks that the doctrine of the flux is on the one hand not accurately thought out, while on the other hand it overlooks the

<sup>1</sup> For what follows cf. STRÜMPPELL, *Gesch. d. theor. Phil. d. Gr.* 157-184; BRANDIS, ii. b, 2, p. 589 sqq. Aristotle's criticism of earlier philosophers is here dealt with only in so far as it concerns their fundamental doctrines.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* i. 8 *init.* cf. iv. 5, 1009, a, 36, 1010, a, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* i. 7, 988, a, 34 sqq. b, 28, *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 9, 335, b, 32 sqq., *Gen. An.* v. 1, 778, b, 7.

<sup>4</sup> See *De Cælo*, iii. 5, *Metaph.* i. 8, 988, b, 29 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* i. 8, 988, b, 26; *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 9, 335, b, 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 1, 329, a, 8; *De Cælo*, iii. 5, 304, b, 11, cf. *ibid.* i. 3, 270, a, 14; *Phys.* i. 7, 190, a, 13 sqq. iii. 5, 205, a, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Aristotle, indeed, generally puts him along with Thales, Anaximenes, &c.; see ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 585, 1.

fact that every change presupposes a substratum ; that under alterations of matter, the form maintains itself ; that it is not all kinds of change which could go on *ad infinitum* ; and that from the changeableness of earthly things we ought not to draw any conclusion as to the universe as a whole.<sup>1</sup> The theory of the unity of opposites he dismisses by the argument that Heraclitus is in conflict with the Law of Contradiction.<sup>2</sup>

The objections to Empedocles cover various points of detail regarding his natural philosophy which cannot be gone into here, but they reach also to the fundamentals of his system. His assumptions as to the immutability of the original matter are held to involve the impossibility of qualitative change, of the passage of the elements into one another as seen in experience, and of their combination into unity in the derivative forms of matter, and also of the doctrines, upheld by Empedocles himself, as to the quantitative identity of the elements and their co-existence in 'the Sphere.'<sup>3</sup> Aristotle also objects that the derivation of these elements is not shown, and that they are not carried back to the original divisions of material being,<sup>4</sup> which are only incompletely presented in the definite kinds of matter known to us as fire, water, &c.<sup>5</sup> He remarks that the opposition of heavy and light is not explained

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* iv. 5, 1010, a, 15 sqq.; *Phys.* viii. 3, 253, b, 9 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 600 sq., and 483, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* i. 8, 989, a, 22-30; *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 1, 329, b, 1, c. 7, 334, a, 18, 26, c. 6 *init. ibid.* i. 1, 314, b, 10, 315, a, 3, c. 8, 325, b, 16. In *De Caelo*, iii. 7 *init.*, he

gives a detailed refutation of the atomistic reduction (by EMPEDOCLES) of ἀλλοίωσις to ἐκκρίσις.

<sup>4</sup> The opposites 'warm and cold,' &c., on which Aristotle bases his own theory of the elements.

<sup>5</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 8, 325, b, 19, ii. 3, 330, b, 21.

at all,<sup>1</sup> and that in the theory of the pores and effluxes an explanation of the mutual influence of bodies is put forward which would logically lead to absolute Atomism.<sup>2</sup> The two 'causes of motion' in the Empedoclean system he considers not to be properly deduced from first principles nor to be sufficiently distinguished, since Love not only unites but also divides, and Hate not only divides but also unites;<sup>3</sup> and he remarks that since no laws of their working are laid down, an inordinate scope is left, in the fashioning of the world, to Chance.<sup>4</sup> He holds the assumption of alternating states of the world to be arbitrary and untenable,<sup>5</sup> and the theory of the composition of the soul out of the elements to be beset with difficulties of all kinds.<sup>6</sup> Finally, Aristotle believes that the philosophy of Empedocles would lead in the end to a sensationalism which would make all truth uncertain.<sup>7</sup>

The criticisms on the Atomic theory are of a similar kind. Aristotle admits that the theory has a very plausible basis. If we start from the Eleatic presuppositions, and if we desire nevertheless to save the ideas of the manifold and of movement, then an Atomic theory is the most convenient way of escape. So if we think it an impossibility to suppose bodies to be actually divisible *ad infinitum*, the only alternative seems to lie in the assumption of indivisible atoms as their ultimate

<sup>1</sup> *De Cælo*, iv. 2, 309, a, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 8; cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* part i. 635, 3.

<sup>3</sup> See ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 698, 2, and *Metaph.* iii. 8, 986, a, 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 6, 333, b, 2 sqq. (cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 703, 1);

*Part. An.* i. 1, 640, a, 19; *Phys.* viii. 1, 252, a, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Phys.* viii. 1, 251, b, 28 sqq.: *De Cælo*, i. 10, 280, a, 11; *Metaph.* iii. 4, 1000, b, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *De An.* i. 5, 409, b, 23-410, b, 27; *Metaph.* iii. 4, 1000, b, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Metaph.* iv. 5, 1009, b, 12; cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 727, 1.

constituents.<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, however, neither admits these Eleatic presuppositions, nor does he concede that the division of bodies can ever reach its limit,<sup>2</sup> or that the coming of definite things into being could be treated as a combination of *minima*, or their passing out of existence as a resolution into atoms.<sup>3</sup> Rather does he hold that indivisible bodies are impossible, since every fixed quantity can be divided into fixed quantities, which again must be divisible.<sup>4</sup> He says that atoms which are neither qualitatively distinguished nor capable of acting on each other could not explain the different qualities and the interaction of bodies or the passage of the elements into one another or the processes of becoming and change.<sup>5</sup> The theory that the atoms are infinite in number and kind is also rejected, because the phenomena can be explained without this hypothesis, since all differences of quality or of form are reducible to certain fundamental types, and since the situation and movement of the elements in nature are also limited by number; and it is Aristotle's view that a limited number of original entities is always to be preferred to an infinity of them, because the limited is better than the limitless.<sup>6</sup> The assumption of empty space, so far

<sup>1</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 8, 324, b, 35 sqq. c. 2, 316, a, 13 sqq.; cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 764 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 2, 317, a, 1 sqq. But Aristotle expresses himself more exactly on this point, though without explicit reference to the atomic theory, in *Phys.* iii. 6 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 2, 317, a, 17 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Phys.* vi. 1; *De Caelo*, iii. 4, 303, a, 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 8, 325, b, 34 sqq. c. 9, 327, a, 14; *De Caelo*, iii. 4, 303, a, 24; *ibid.* c. 7, c. 8, 306, a, 22 sqq. We shall have more to say on this subject later.

<sup>6</sup> *De Caelo*, iii. 4, 303, a, 17 sqq. 29 sqq. b, 4; cf. *Phys.* i. 4 *fin.* viii. 6, 259, a, 8.

from being necessary<sup>1</sup> to explain phenomena such as those of movement, would rather be inconsistent with the characteristic movement of bodies and the differences of weight, for in a vacuum nothing could have any particular place towards which it would tend, and everything would necessarily move with equal quickness.<sup>2</sup> He finds that movement and its different kinds are, in the Atomic Philosophy, simply presupposed, and not deduced from first principles.<sup>3</sup> He objects that the school completely overlooks the teleology of nature, and that instead of giving us any principles on which phenomena rest, it refers us to an unsolved necessity, or to the assertion that in fact things have always been as they are.<sup>4</sup> There are further polemical passages, which can only here be mentioned in passing: against the theory of an infinite number of co-existent worlds;<sup>5</sup> against Democritus' explanation of sense-perception;<sup>6</sup> against his doctrine concerning the soul,<sup>7</sup> and his acceptance of sensory appearance as truth.<sup>8</sup>

The natural philosophy of Anaxagoras is so closely connected with the physics of the Atomists and Empe-

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* iv. 7-9, cf. c. 6. More on this later.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* iv. 8, 214, b, 28 sqq.; *De Cælo*, i. 7, 275, b, 29, 277, a, 33 sqq. ii. 13, 294, b, 30, iii. 2, 300, b, 8. With regard to the theory of Weight held by Democritus, see further *De Cælo*, iv. 2, 6; as to the influence of Aristotle's attack upon the changes which Epicurus made in the atomic theory, see ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. iii. a, 378.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* xii. 6, 1071, b, 31.

<sup>4</sup> See ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 788 sqq., and *Gen. An.* v. 8 *vers. fin.*, where Aristotle's criticism of the mechanical explanation of nature by Democritus, is very similar to Plato's criticism in the *Phædo* of that proposed by Anaxagoras.

<sup>5</sup> *De Cælo*, i. 8; see ZELLER, *ibid.* 797, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *De Sensu*, c. 4, 442, a, 29.

<sup>7</sup> *De An.* i. 3, 406, b, 15, cf. c. 2, 403, b, 29, 405, a, 8.

<sup>8</sup> ZELLER, *ibid.* 822.

docles that it is open for the most part to the same objections. The infinite number of his primary bodies is not only needless, inasmuch as a small number would do equally well, but it is also mistaken inasmuch as it would make all knowledge of things impossible. Again, since the primary differences of kinds of matter are limited in number, so must be the primary bodies also. Since all bodies have a natural magnitude, their constituent parts (the so-called *ὁμοιομερῆ*) cannot be of indefinite size; and since all bodies are limited, there cannot be in each thing, as Anaxagoras was logically obliged to hold, constituents belonging to the infinitely various kinds of matter.<sup>1</sup> Further, if primary matter is to be looked for in the simplest bodies, few of the *ὁμοιομερῆ* could be considered as primary matter.<sup>2</sup> Anaxagoras recognises the existence of change in things, but the doctrine of the unchangeability of their constituent parts is inconsistent with that admission. The continuity of bodies is negated by the infinite number of their constituents,<sup>3</sup> in spite of Anaxagoras's weak attack upon the theory of empty space.<sup>4</sup> Aristotle finds that Anaxagoras is as little able to account for differences of weight as was Empedocles.<sup>5</sup> The original mingling of all kinds of matter, as Anaxagoras states it, would be unthinkable;<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* i. 4, 187, b, 7 sqq; the latter part of ch. viii. *infra*.  
*De Cælo*, iii. 4. For a further  
 remark as to the infinite in space,  
 see *Phys.* iii. 5, 205, b, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *De Cælo*, iii. 4, 302, b, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 1; *Phys.*  
 iii. 4, 203, a, 19. Further objec-  
 tions of a similar kind, but not  
 especially directed against Anax-  
 agoras, will be dealt with in

<sup>4</sup> *Phys.* iv. 6, 213, a, 22.

<sup>5</sup> *De Cælo*, iv. 2, 309, a, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Besides the physical objec-  
 tions which are raised against it  
 in *Metaph.* i. 8, *Gen. et Corr.* i.  
 10, 327, b, 19, Aristotle asserts  
 both of this statement and of the  
 corresponding one (that, at all  
 times, everything is in every-



but if it were more correctly stated it would lead to the substitution of 'matter' (conceived of as one and without qualities) for the infinite variety of primary bodies which Anaxagoras assumed.<sup>1</sup> The theory, common to him and others, of a beginning of movement among matter, after infinitely continued rest, would contradict the regularity of the order of nature.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle freely recognises the advance made when Anaxagoras formulated the doctrine of universal mind, but he considers it to be still unsatisfactory, inasmuch as, on the one hand, it did not bear fruit in the explanation of nature, and, on the other hand, as applied even to man, it misconceived the distinction between the spirit and the soul.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the Eleatics (among whom he takes little account of Xenophanes and Melissus),<sup>4</sup> Aristotle's first point is that their philosophy contains no basis for any explanation of phenomena.<sup>5</sup> Their primary axioms he takes to be vitiated by grave obscurities; they talk of 'the unity of being' without keeping distinct the different meanings of unity; and thus they attribute to being such qualities as negate in turn its unconditional unity (*e.g.* limit in Parmenides, and limitlessness in Melissus). They do not understand that every proposition involves the duality of subject and predicate, of

thing), that it destroys the principle of contradiction. See ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 911.

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* i. 8, 989, a, 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* viii. 1, 252, a, 10 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See ZELLER, *ibid.* 887, 4, 893, 2; *De An.* i. 2, 404, b, 1, 405, a, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Metaph.* i. 5, 986, b, 26; 46.

*Phys.* i. 2, 185, a, 10, i. 3 *init.*, and *De Caelo*, ii. 13, 294, a, 21; on the other hand Parmenides is always treated with respect.

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* i. 5, 986, b, 10 sqq.;

*Phys.* i. 2, 184, b, 25; *De Caelo*, iii. 1, 298, b, 14; *Gen. et Corr.* i. 8, 325, a, 17; cf. *SEXT. Math.* x. 46.

thing and quality, so that we cannot even say that 'Being is' without distinguishing between Being as substance and the Being we attribute to it as quality—which latter, if there were only *one Being*, would necessarily be something other than Being, *i.e.* not-being.<sup>1</sup> The Eleatics assert the unity of Being and deny not-being, whereas in fact 'Being' is only a common predicate of all things, and 'Not-being' is perfectly thinkable as the negation of some definite kind of being (*e.g.* not large, &c.).<sup>2</sup> They attack the divisibility of Being, and yet at the same time describe it as extended in space.<sup>3</sup> They deny all 'Becoming,' and therefore the multiplicity of things, on the ground that every process of becoming must start either from Being or from Not-being, and both hypotheses are untenable. They overlook a third possibility, which not only makes Becoming conceivable, but is the sole expression of any actual process of becoming—namely, that anything becomes what it is, not out of absolute Not-being, but out of that which is *relatively* not-being.<sup>4</sup>

Aristotle holds that Zeno's polemic against movement rests upon similar misconceptions, inasmuch as he treated space and time not as fixed but as discrete quantities, and argued on the assumption

<sup>1</sup> This is the essential point of the complicated dialectical discussion in *Phys.* i. 2, 105, a, 20–c. 3 *vers. fin.* On the second half of these discussions (c. 3), cf. PLATO, *Parm.* 142, B sq., *Soph.* 244, B sqq.; and see ZELLER, *ibid.* p. 562 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* i. 3, 187, a, 3; cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 563 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 4, 1001, b, 7; cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 541.

<sup>4</sup> *Phys.* i. 8, cf. *Metaph.* xiv. 2, 1009, a, 26 sqq. (The point will be treated more in detail in ch. viii. *infra.*) On the other hand, the Eleatic hypothesis is answered in *Gen. et Corr.* i. 8, 325, a, 13 merely by a reference to the opposed facts of experience.

that they consisted of an infinite number of actual subdivisions, whereas in fact they merely include *potentially* in themselves all possible subdivisions.<sup>1</sup> Still less importance does he attach to the arguments used by Melissus to prove that Being is limitless and motionless.<sup>2</sup> How can it be supposed that 'All is One,' unless we are prepared to ignore all the differences of things, and to represent even contradictory opposites as one and the same?<sup>3</sup> Here also Aristotle finds unproved assumptions as to the principles of things, and an absolute failure to solve the weightiest questions of philosophy.

Neither does he find a solution among the Pythagoreans, who attempted a philosophy of nature, although their principles made movement and change, which are the basis of all natural processes, inconceivable.<sup>4</sup> They proposed to explain the corporeal by referring it to number. Yet how can that which is extended in space be derivable from numbers, or how can weight arise out of that which is neither light nor heavy?<sup>5</sup> How, in fine, can the qualities of things be so derived at all?<sup>6</sup> What is the meaning of saying that in the formation of the world, the One, as corporeal size, was 'the centre which drew unto itself portions of the limitless'?<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* vi. 9, c. 2, 233, a, 21; cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 545 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* i. 3 *init.*; cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 554, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Phys.* i. 2, 185, b, 19 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Metaph.* i. 8, 989, b, 29 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* i. 8, 990, a, 12 sqq. iii. 4, 1001, b, 17, xiii. 8, 1083, b, 8 sqq. xiv. 3, 1090, a, 30; *De Cælo*, iii. 1 *fin.*

<sup>6</sup> *Metaph.* xiv. 5, 1092, b, 15.

The passage refers to Platonics and Pythagoreans together. Other remarks, which refer immediately to Plato and his school, but also apply to the Pythagoreans, need not be here cited.

<sup>7</sup> *Metaph.* xiii. 6, 1080, b, 16, xiv. 3, 1091, a, 13; cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 381 sq. 349, 4.

Again, where things different in character are explained by one and the same number, are we to distinguish between different classes of numbers by reason of the differences of the things they signify, or are we to deny the variety of these things by reason of the likeness of the numbers that denote them?<sup>1</sup> How, again, can universal conceptions such as the One and the Infinite be of the nature of substance?<sup>2</sup> Finally, if we proceed to inquire as to the way in which the Pythagoreans applied their theory of numbers, we come upon singular superficiality and caprice.<sup>3</sup> The theory of number itself is very incompletely worked out,<sup>4</sup> and there are numerous untenable positions in their theory of physics which Aristotle marks with censure.<sup>5</sup>

Not only the earlier schools of Natural Philosophy, but also the later systems called, in Aristotle's view, for fundamental reconsideration. Only one of the later schools can be specially dealt with here, because in this connection there is no account to be taken of the Sophists. What they taught was to Aristotle's mind only a mock wisdom, which dealt in the contingent, the unessential, and the unreal.<sup>6</sup> His task in regard to them was, not

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* i. 8, 990, a, 18 (cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 362, 1), vii. 11. 1036, b, 17 cf. xiv. 6, 1093, a, 1, 10.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to Being and the One, this view is explained (against Plato and the Pythagoreans) in *Metaph.* iii. 4, 1001, a, 9, 27 cf. x. 2; and it is there especially remarked that the assertion of the substantiality of the One would destroy the plurality of things. As to the ἀρεστος cf. *Phys.* iii. 5, and also c. 4, 203, a, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* i. 5, 986, a, 6, 987, a, 19.

<sup>4</sup> See ZELLER, *ibid.* 367, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Such as the 'Antichthon' (*ZELLER, ibid.* 383, 4), the harmony of the spheres (*De Caelo*, ii. 9), a theory about time (*Phys.* iv. 10, 218, a, 33, cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 406, 3 sq.), and certain views as to the soul (*De An.* i. 2, 404, a, 16, c. 3 *fin.* cf. *Anal. Post.* ii. 11, 94, b, 32).

<sup>6</sup> See ZELLER, *ibid.* 968.

to establish any metaphysical propositions, but to combat the scepticism which brought all manner of truth into question, and to prove the untenable nature of their sophisms.<sup>1</sup> The services rendered by Socrates to philosophy are by no means minimised by Aristotle, although at the same time he emphasises the limitation of Socrates' achievement to the sphere of ethics, and observes that in this connection Socrates did not establish any metaphysical basis.<sup>2</sup> Of the lesser Socratic schools Aristotle criticised only the Megarians, for their assertions about the relation of the possible and the actual,<sup>3</sup> and the Cynics, in regard to their theory of knowledge and ethics.<sup>4</sup>

The attention which Aristotle pays, however, to Plato and the Platonic school is as thoroughgoing as his treatment of the other Socratics is slight. His own system grew directly out of that of Plato. He was compelled, therefore,<sup>5</sup> to distinguish his views from those of Plato exhaustively, and to set out the arguments which led him to go beyond the Platonic school. Thus it is

<sup>1</sup> The former in *Metaph.* iv. 5, cf. c. 4, 1007, b, 20, x. 1, 1053, a, 35, xi. 6 *init.*; the latter in the treatise on the fallacies.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the passages cited, ZELLER, *ibid.* at pp. 94, 2, and 1143. That even the Ethics of Socrates are one-sided, is shown by Aristotle in *Eth. Nic.* iii. 7, 1113, b, 14 sq. c. 11, 1116, b, 3 sqq. 1117, a, 9, vi. 13, 1114, b, 17 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* ix. 3 (cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 220, 1). Aristotle here confutes the Megarian principle, that the merely possible is actual, by

proving that it would not only destroy all motion and change, but also all possession of skill or power: one who does not now hear would be deaf; one who is not actually building would be no architect.

<sup>4</sup> The former are spoken of in *Metaph.* v. 29, 1024, b, 32, viii. 3, 1043, b, 23 (cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* 252 sq.), and in *Eth. Nic.* x. 1, 1172, a, 27 sqq. Aristotle attacks the exaggerations of the moral doctrine of the Cynics.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra*, pp. 14, 56 sq., 162, &c.

in no spirit of jealousy or detraction that Aristotle comes back again and again to discuss the Platonic doctrines, and to set out their defects from all points of view with untiring patience; for such a criticism of his master was unavoidable if he was to defend his own philosophic individuality, and his right to found a new school, against the fame of his predecessor and the prestige of the flourishing Academy. His main criticism, leaving out of account incidental objections, is directed against three leading points: first, against the Ideal Theory, as such; secondly, against the later 'Pythagorising statement of the Theory;' and, thirdly, against the principles laid down concerning the ultimate basis of things, Matter and the One.<sup>1</sup>

The Ideal Theory of Plato rested upon his conviction that it is only the universal essence of things that can be an object of knowledge. This conviction was shared by Aristotle.<sup>2</sup> So likewise did Aristotle accept without criticism Plato's doctrine as to the mutability of all sensible things (which for Plato was the second buttress of the Ideal Theory), and the necessity to pass beyond these to something stable and essential.<sup>3</sup> But when Plato draws from this the conclusion that it is only the Universal, as such, which can be actual, and that it must exist for itself as something substantial beyond phenomena, Aristotle parts company with him. This, therefore, is the central point about which revolves the whole Aristotelian attack on Plato's *Metaphysics*. For Aristotle holds as to this assumption that it is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZELLER, *Platon. Studien*, p. 197 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide supra*, pp. 163, 300, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 300 sqq.

devoid of all scientific basis in itself; that it leads in its results to difficulties and contradictions absolutely insoluble, and that instead of explaining the world of phenomena, it makes them impossible.

He holds that the hypothesis of the Ideas is not established; of the Platonic arguments for it, there is not one that is not open to decisive objections.<sup>1</sup> The ends that Plato sought thereby to attain are and must be attainable otherwise. The content of each of these Ideas is, indeed, exactly the same as the corresponding thing of which it is said to be 'the Idea;' for in the conception of the *ideal man*, of man as such, exactly the same marks are included as in the conception of *man* in the ordinary sense, there being no difference between the two beyond the addition of the word 'ideal' (τὸ αὐτό).<sup>2</sup> In this view, the Ideas appear as nothing more than a needless reduplication of the world of things, and the introduction of the Ideas to explain things is to Aristotle as if a man who could not count in small numbers should attempt to count in large ones.<sup>3</sup> But even apart from the failure of proof, the Ideal Theory is in his view in itself untenable; for Substance cannot

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* i. 9, 990, b, 8 sqq. xiii. 4, 1079, a.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 2, 997, b, 5: πολλαχῇ δ' ἐχόντων δυσκολίαν, οὐθενὸς ἦττον ἔσποιν τὸ φάναι μὲν εἶναι τινας φύσεις παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ταύτας δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς φάναι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς πλὴν ὅτι τὰ μὲν αἰδία τὰ δὲ φθαρτά· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων φασι εἶναι καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὄντων, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν, παραπλήσιον ποιοῦντες τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν εἶναι φάσκουσιν ἀνθρώποις δὲ οὕτε

γὰρ ἐκείνοι οὐθὲν ἄλλο ἐποιοῦν, ἢ ἀνθρώπους αἰδίου, οὐθ' οὔτοι τὰ εἶδη ἀλλ' ἢ αἰσθητὰ αἰδία. Similarly *Metaph.* vii. 16, 1040, b, 32: ποιοῦσιν οὖν [τὰς ιδέας] τὰς αὐτὰς τῷ εἶδει τοῖς φθαρτοῖς, ἀποδιδόντων καὶ αὐτόιππον, προστιθέντες τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ αὐτὸ. *Ibid.* xiii. 9, 1086, b, 10 cf. *Eth. N. i.* 4, 1096, a, 34, *Eud.* i. 8, 1218, a, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9 *init.* xiii. 4, 1078, b, 32.

be separate from that whereof it is the Substance, nor Genus from that to which (as forming part of the essence) it belongs.<sup>1</sup> This proposition, in fact, summarises the whole difference between the Platonic and Aristotelian systems. Aristotle holds, however, that even if this were waived, the Platonist would only pass out of one difficulty into another. It would appear, for instance, that in reason there could only be Ideas of that which was substantial; and the Platonic school accordingly ascribed Ideas only to natural things. Yet when once it is admitted that the Universal Essence is divided among individual things, it must follow that Ideas should be ascribed also to privative and relative conceptions and to artificial products of all kinds;<sup>2</sup> and even among the Ideas themselves, the most of them must have Ideas over them to which they stand in the relation of copies, so that it would be true of them that the same thing would be at the same time type and copy.<sup>3</sup> Thus also for every thing—inasmuch as it must fall under a series of genera, superior and subordinate in form—there must be *several* Ideas;<sup>4</sup> or again, the various general marks which together make up a concept must be themselves so many Substances, and it would follow that one Idea would be made out of many Ideas, or one Substance out of many real Substances,

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991. b. 1: *διότι τὸ ἀποκρίναι εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ αἰεὶ καὶ οὐδὲν αἰεὶ τῶν ἰδιῶν*; xiii. 9, 1083. a. 23, cf. vii. 6, 1031. a. 31, c. 14, 1039. b. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 990. b. 11 sqq. 22, 991. b. 6, xiii. 4, 1079. a. 19, c. 8, 1084. a. 27; *Anal. Post.* i.

21, 85. b. 18; cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 387, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991. a. 29, xiii. 5, 1079. b. 34. In the first of these passages we should read: *αὐτὸ τὸ γένος, ἢ γένος, εἶναι* (sc. *ταυτοῦτος ἑαυτοῦ*).

<sup>4</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991. a. 26.



and these sometimes of opposite kinds.<sup>1</sup> Or again, if the Idea is to be Substance, it cannot at the same time be a general concept;<sup>2</sup> for it is not the unity of many individual things, but an individual itself among other individuals.<sup>3</sup> Conversely, the things of which it is predicated could not be true subjects.<sup>4</sup> Of Ideas of this kind any definition would be as impossible as it is of other individuals,<sup>5</sup> and since the Idea, like the individual, is numerically one, it follows that one or other of the contradictory predicates by which we subdivide the genus must always be predicable of it, in which case it clearly cannot be itself the genus also.<sup>6</sup>

Aristotle considers the assertion that the Ideas contain the essence of things to be inconsistent with the view that they are at the same time incorporeal. He represents Plato as speaking sometimes of a 'matter of the Ideas' (that being inconsistent with the notion that they are not in space<sup>7</sup>), and as holding at other times that in the case of all natural objects matter and the process of becoming belongs to the essence and conception of them, in which case the conception of them cannot exist by itself separately.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, he argues that the ethical conceptions cannot be separated from

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* vii. 13, 1039, a, 3, c. 14; cf. c. 8, 1033, b, 19, i. 9, 991, a, 29, xiii. 9, 1085 a, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* xiii. 9, 1086, a, 32, vii. 16, 1040, a, 26 sqq. cf. iii. 6, 1003, a, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 992, b, 9, xiii. 9, *ut supra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Metaph.* vii. 6, 1031, b, 15; cf. DONITZ and SCHWEGLER on this passage, and the citation at

p. 215, *supra*, from *Categ.* c. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* vii. 15, 1040, a, 8-27.

<sup>6</sup> *Top.* vi. 6, 143, b, 23. Length in itself must be either ἀπλᾶρες or πλάτος ἔχον, and then the genus must be at once a species also.

<sup>7</sup> *Phys.* iv. 1, 209, b, 33; cf. ZELL. *ibid.* 556 sq., 628 sq.

<sup>8</sup> *Phys.* ii. 2, 193 b, 35 sqq.

their objects. There can be no 'Idea of the Good' standing by itself, for the conception of the Good appears under all possible categories, and determines itself differently according to the different circumstances; and as there are different sciences that deal with the Good, so there are different kinds of good, among which there is, in fact, an ascending scale—a fact which of itself excludes the possibility of a common Idea existing by itself.<sup>1</sup> A further objection is that the theory of Ideas logically carried out would be a process *ad infinitum*: for if an Idea is always to be posited in every case where more things than one meet in a common definition, the common essence of the Idea and its phenomenon must always come in as a third term different from either of them.<sup>2</sup>

Even if the Ideal Theory were better founded and

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. N.* i. 4 (*Eud.* i. 8); cf. preceding notes. As to the principle that what is *πρότερον* and *ὑστερον* cannot be reduced to a common generic concept, see *Polit.* iii. 1, 1273, a, 34 sqq. (ZELL., *ibid.*, 571 sq.). On the same principle in *Eth. Nic. loc. cit.* Aristotle remarks in criticising the 'Idea of the Good,' that the upholders of the doctrine of Ideas themselves say that there is no Idea of that which stands in the relation of Before and After; but this is actually the case with the Good, for it is found in all the categories: *e.g.*, a substantial good is the Divinity and Reason, a qualitative good is Virtue, a quantitative good is Measure, a relative good is the Useful, &c. Thus these different Goods stand

in a relation of Before and After, and can consequently be included in no common generic concept, and therefore in no idea, but (1096, b, 25 sqq.) only in a relation of analogy. (Vide *supra*, p. 276 sqq.)

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, a, 2, vii. 13, 1039, a, cf. vii. 6, 2, 1031, b, 28. Aristotle expresses this objection here by saying that the doctrine of Ideas leads to the *ἑπὶ τὸς ἑνὸς*. Cf. ZELL., *Plat. Stud.* p. 257, and *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. p. 623, 5. He finds the parallel of the *ἑπὶ τὸς ἑνὸς* (which, however, is equally true of the ideas themselves, cf. *Soph. El.* c. 22, 178, b, 36) in the change of the universal into an individual of the same name.

less untenable, Aristotle would still say that it could by no means fulfil the task of a true Philosophy, which is to exhibit the basis and principles of the world of appearances. As the Ideas are not *in* things, they cannot make up the essence of things, and they cannot contribute anything to the being of things.<sup>1</sup> Even the relation of the one to the other cannot be stated clearly, for Plato's own references to some kind of copying and participation are always unintelligible metaphors.<sup>2</sup> The principle of motive power, without which no process of becoming and no explanation of nature is conceivable, is wholly wanting.<sup>3</sup> So also is the principle of final cause.<sup>4</sup> Even in regard to the theory of Knowledge, the Ideas cannot render us that service which Plato expected from them, for if they are *outside* of things, then they are not truly the essence of things, and therefore the knowledge of the Idea leads to no sure conclusion as to the thing itself.<sup>5</sup> And how, on the other hand, could we arrive, asks Aristotle, at any knowledge of the Ideal, since *innate* Ideas are not to be assumed?<sup>6</sup> All these difficulties will be vastly increased if we are to follow Plato and his school in translating the Ideas into Numbers, and so interposing

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, a, 12 (xiii. 335, b, 7 sqq. cf. *Eth. Eud.* i. 8, 1217, b, 23).

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, a, 20, 992, a, 28 (xiii. 5, 1079, b, 24), i. 6, 987, b, 13, viii. 6, 1045, b, 7, xii. 10, 1075, b, 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, a, 8, 19 sqq. b, 3 sqq. (xiii. 5) 992, a, 24 sqq. b, 7, c. 7, 988, b, 3, vii. 8, 1033, b, 26, xii. 6, 1071, b, 14, c. 10, 1075, b, 16, 27; *Gen. et Curr.* ii. 9,

<sup>4</sup> *Metaph.* i. 7, 988, b, 6, c. 9, 992, a, 29 (where, instead of δὲ, δι' ὃ should be read).

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, a, 12 (xiii. 5, 1079, b, 15), vii. 6, 1031, a, 30 sqq. cf. *Anal. Post.* i. 22, 83, a, 32: τὰ γὰρ εἰδη χαίρεται· τερετήσμεν τε γὰρ ἐστί, &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 202, &c.

between the Ideas and the things of sense the whole science of Mathematics. The difficulties which would thus arise were set out by Aristotle with a painstaking thoroughness most tiresome to the modern mind, though in his day it may possibly have been needful in order to cut off all ways of escape for the Pythagorising school, led by such men as Xenocrates and Speusippus. He asks how we are to think to ourselves the causality of numbers,<sup>1</sup> or how they can contribute to the existence of things.<sup>2</sup> He shows how capricious and contradictory is the application of these numbers to natural objects.<sup>3</sup> He points out the difference in character between conceptual determinations, which are qualitative, and numerical determinations, which are quantitative, remarking that two numbers make up one number, but two Ideas do not make one Idea, and that among the numbers which make up numbers no qualitative differences can be posited, whereas there must be units qualitatively different if there were Ideal Numbers.<sup>4</sup> With minute and careful thoroughness,<sup>5</sup> he controverts the various suggestions as to the relations of mathematics to the Ideal Numbers which were thrown out by Plato and his school and the devices they resorted to in order to maintain a conceivable difference

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, b, 9, with the answer: if things are likewise numbers, one does not see of what use the ideal numbers are to them; if, on the other hand, things are only arranged according to number, the same would be true of the ideas of them, which would not be numbers, but λόγοι ἐν

ἀριθμοῖς τινῶν (ὑποκειμένων).

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* xiv. 6 *init.*, *ibid.* 1093, b, 21 cf. c. 2, 1090, a, 7 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* from 1092, b, 29; cf. the commentaries on this passage.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. p. 568 sq. 854, 867 sq. 884.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* i. 9, 991, b, 21 sqq. 992, a, 2.

between the Numbers and the units which compose them.<sup>1</sup> But in this, as in other branches of the argument, his main point is always that there is a fundamental contradiction between the notion of a unit of number and the fact of differences of kind. It is not, of course, necessary here to recapitulate those of his objections to Ideal Numbers which apply also to the Ideal Theory in general.<sup>2</sup> But it is to be noticed that, in Aristotle's view, if once we assumed the existence of Ideas and Ideal Numbers, the ordinary mathematical numbers would lose their status, for they could only have the same component parts and therefore the same nature as the Ideal Numbers themselves.<sup>3</sup> The position of magnitudes would be equally dubious; for *quâ* ideal they must go by ideal numbers, and *quâ* mathematical they must go by mathematical number;<sup>4</sup> and from the way in which the theory of magnitudes is deduced, he considers that the further dilemma arises that either it must be possible for a surface to exist without line, and a solid without surface, or else all three must be one and the same.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, as concerns the ultimate principles of things, in which Plato and the Platonists had sought to find the ultimate basis and constituents of their Numbers and Ideas,<sup>6</sup> Aristotle asserts that it is impossible to know the constituent parts of all being, since that

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* xiii. 6-8.

<sup>2</sup> As in *Metaph.* xiii. 9, 1085, a, 23, and in xiv. 2, 1090, a, 7 sqq. c. 3, 1090, a, 25-b, 5, they are used against Speusippus.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, b, 27; xiv. 3, 1090, b, 32 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 992, b, 13; xiv. 3, 1090, b, 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* i. 9, 992, a, 10; xiii. 9, 1085, a, 7, 31.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 628 sq., 805.

knowledge cannot be derived from any prior knowledge.<sup>1</sup> He doubts whether all being can have the same constituent parts,<sup>2</sup> or whether out of the combination of the same elements, at one time a number and at another time a magnitude could arise.<sup>3</sup> He remarks that such constituent parts can only be ascribed to substances, and only to those substances which have some admixture of materiality.<sup>4</sup> He further demonstrates that such constituent parts could neither be thought as individual nor as universal: not as individual, because they would not then be cognisable and could not be the constituents of more things or Ideas than one; not as universal, because in that case they would not be of the nature of substance.<sup>5</sup> In another connection, he takes exception to the variance of the Platonic suggestions as to the 'material element,'<sup>6</sup> and rejects altogether the assumption of Speusippus that there are more than one original but different *principia*.<sup>7</sup> A closer inquiry into the two Platonic ultimate principles, 'the One,' and 'the Great and Little,' leads Aristotle to declare that they are both misconceived. He asks how the One can be a thing existing by itself, when no universal is a substance. The notion of unity expresses only a

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 992, b, 24; against which, indeed, his own distinction of demonstrative and inductive knowledge might be used.

<sup>2</sup> This is suggested, without mention of Plato, in *Metaph.* xii. 4, 1070, a, 33 sqq.; cf. what was adduced on pp. 300-301, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 4, 1001, b, 17 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 9, 992, b, 18; xiv. 2 *init.*

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* xiii. 10, 1086, b, 19, 1087, a, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Metaph.* xiv. 1, 1087, b, 4, 12, 26, c. 2, 1089, b, 11; cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. p. 628, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Of it the remark in *Metaph.* xiv. 3, 1090, b, 13 sqq. is true, that Nature is not *ἐπεισοδιώδης* *δοτε μοχθηρὰ τραγῳδία*, and in xii. 10 *fin.* the *οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη*. Further cf. ZELLER, *ibid.* p. 851 sq. and the passages there adduced.

quality—or, more exactly, a determination of measure. This, however, presupposes something measured, and even that is not necessarily anything substantial, but may also be a magnitude, or a quality, or a relation, or any of the most different kinds of things, and, according as it is one or the other of these, ‘the One’ will be variously determined, as predicated of one or other of the similar kinds of subjects.<sup>1</sup> Whoever seeks to deny this will be driven to explain ‘the One’ as the only Substance, as did the Eleatics—a position which, apart from other objections, would make Number itself impossible.<sup>2</sup> Again, if with Plato we are to say that the One is the same as the Good, then there will arise other intolerable difficulties,<sup>3</sup> not worse, however, than those which would be raised if, with Speusippus, we attempt to distinguish the One from the Good as a special principle by itself.<sup>4</sup> As for ‘the Great and Little,’ this conception indicates nothing but bare qualities, or rather, bare relations—and these, indeed, of such a kind as could least of all be taken for anything in the nature of substance, since they manifestly require a substratum. How can substances, he asks again, consist of that which is not substantial, and how can constituent parts be at the same time predicates?<sup>5</sup> Or if we are to take this second principle to be more closely related to the first, as not-being is to being, such a theory would be altogether perverse. Plato believed that he could only escape the monism of Parmenides by assuming a prin-

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* x. 2; xiv. 1, 1087, b. 36 sqq., b, 13, 20 sqq. 33, and xi. 2, 1060, a, 36; cf. <sup>4</sup> *Metaph.* 1091, b, 16, 22, c. 5 *supra*, p. 312, n. 2, and p. 272, n. 2. *init.*

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* iii. 4, 1001, a, 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* xiv. 4, 1091, a, 29, 1, 1088, a, 15 sqq. <sup>5</sup> *Metaph.* i. 9, 992, b, 1; xiv.

he shows, is Form, but the form of everything is determined by the function for which it is designed.<sup>1</sup> All Becoming has its goal, and the terminal point of all motion is also its end or object.<sup>2</sup> This pursuit of fixed designs in nature is demonstrated to our experience by the order and coherence of the universe and the regularity with which certain effects are produced by certain means. It is impossible to ascribe to chance what happens always or even usually.<sup>3</sup> He lays especial stress upon the motions of the heavenly bodies, the birth of living creatures from seed, the instinct of animals, the evidences of design in the structure of animals and plants, and also upon human action, inas-

διὸ δεῖ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν παιδικῶς τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀτιμωτέρων ζώων ἐπίσκεψιν. ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἔνεστί τι θαυμαστόν. As Heraclitus bade the strangers welcome to the bakery where they found him, saying that God was there also, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὴν ζήτησιν περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ζώων προσιέναι δεῖ μὴ δυσωπούμενον ὡς ἐν ἅπασιν ὄντος τινὸς φυσικοῦ καὶ καλοῦ. τὸ γὰρ μὴ τυχόντως ἀλλ' ἐνεκά τινος ἐν τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἔργοις ἐστὶ καὶ μάλιστα· οὐ δ' ἔνεκα συνέστηκεν ἢ γέγονε τέλους τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ χώραν εἰληφεν. (Cf. c. 1, cited in previous n.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Meteor.* iv. 12, 390, a, 10: ἅπαντα δ' ἐστὶν ὠρισμένα τῷ ἔργῳ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενα ποιεῖν τὸ αὐτῶν ἔργον ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν ἔκαστα, οἷον ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς [sc. ἀληθῶς ὀφθαλμὸς ἐστὶν] εἰ ὁρᾷ, τὸ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενον διανομῶς, οἷον ὁ τεθνεὼς ἢ ὁ λίθινος.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* ii. 2, 194, a, 28: ἡ δὲ φύσις τέλος καὶ οὐ ἔνεκα· ὧν γὰρ

συνεχοῦς τῆς κινήσεως οὕσης ἔστι τι τέλος τῆς κινήσεως, τοῦτο ἔσχατον καὶ τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα. c. 8, 199, a, 8: ἐν ὅσοις τέλος ἐστὶ τι, τοῦτου ἔνεκα πράττεται τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ἐφεξῆς, &c. *Ibid.* l. 30, see p. 356, *supra*. *Part. An.* i. 1, 641, b, 23: πανταχοῦ δὲ λέγομεν τὸδε τοῦδε ἔνεκα, ὅπου ἂν φαίνηται τέλος τι πρὸς δὲ ἡ κίνησις περαίνει μὴδενὸς ἐμποδίζοντος, ὥστε εἶναι φανερόν ὅτι ἔστι τι τοιοῦτον, ὃ δὴ καὶ καλοῦμεν φύσιν. *Phys.* ii. 1, 193, b, 12: ἡ φύσις ἢ λεγομένη ὡς γένεσις [see *Metaph.* v. 4 *init.*] ὁδὸς ἐστὶν εἰς φύσιν . . . ἢ ἄρα μορφή φύσις. *De An.* ii. 4, 415, b, 16: ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἔνεκά του ποιεῖ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ φύσις.

<sup>3</sup> *Phys.* ii. 8, 198, b, 34, 199, b, 15, 23; *Part. An.* iii. 2, 663, b, 28; *Gen. An.* i. 19, 727, b, 29, cf. p. 362, n. 5; *De Caelo* ii. 8, 289, b, 26: οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς φύσει τὸ ὡς ἔτυχεν, οὐδὲ τὸ πανταχοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τύχης.



much, that is to say, as all art is an imitation or completion of nature, and the design of the one therefore implies that of the other.<sup>1</sup> If we cannot deny the evidences of design throughout the world of mortal things, he argues that we must admit the same in a far greater measure with regard to the universe at large, where the order is more strict, and the regularity more unbroken. Whence, indeed, could the laws which govern the former have sprung except from the latter?<sup>2</sup> Consequently the discovery of final causes forms the first and most important problem of natural science. It must direct its attention, not to the individual, but to the whole which the individual subserves—not to the matter but to the form.<sup>3</sup> But if it is suggested that, in

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* ii. 8, 198, b, 32–199, b, 26, cf. viii. 1, 252, a, 11: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲν γε ἔτακτον τῶν φύσει καὶ κατὰ φύσιν· ἡ γὰρ φύσις αἰτία πᾶσι τάξεως. *Part. An.* i. 1, 641, b, 12–30; *De Cælo*, ii. 8, 289, b, 25; *Gen. An.* iii. 10, 760, a, 31; *Metaph.* xii. 10, xiv. 3; see p. 391, n. 2, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Part. An.* i. 1, 641, b, 12: ἡ φύσις ἕνεκά του ποιεῖ πάντα. φαίνεται γὰρ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τεχναστοῖς ἐστὶν ἡ τέχνη, οὕτως ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄλλη τις ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τοιαύτη, ἣν ἔχομεν καθάπερ [as well as] τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἐκ τοῦ παντός. διδὲ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν γεγενῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, εἰ γέγονε, καὶ εἶναι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ζῷα τὰ θνητά· τὸ γοῦν τεταγμένον καὶ τὸ ὀρισμένον πολὺ μᾶλλον φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἢ περὶ ἡμᾶς, τὸ δ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε περὶ τὰ θνητά μᾶλλον. οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν ζώων ἕκαστον φύσει φασὶν εἶναι καὶ γενέσθαι, τὸν δ' οὐρανὸν

ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου τοιοῦτον συστήναι, ἐν δ' ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ ἀταξίας οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν φαίνεται. Cf. also ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 650, 579, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Phys.* ii. 9, 200, a, 32 (after the passage quoted p. 360, n. 1): καὶ ἄμφω μὲν τῷ φυσικῷ λεκτέαι αἱ αἰτίαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ τίνος ἕνεκα· αἴτιον γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς ὕλης [inasmuch as Nature chooses her materials with a view to the thing that is to be produced] ἀλλ' οὐχ αὕτη τοῦ τέλους. *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 9, 335, b, 29: it is not sufficient to give the material causes of a thing. Matter is merely the *motum*, the *morens* in the province both of nature and art is something quite different; the κυριωτέρα αἰτία is the form. Materialistic physics, instead of giving us the real causes, can tell us only of implements of production: as if one in answer to the question 'Who saws the wood?' were to reply,

opposite directions in each :<sup>1</sup> the motive power excites the latent activity in the thing moved, while the thing moved realises it for itself.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle conceives of the operation of the motive principle upon the thing moved as conditioned by continuous contact between them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* iii. 3, where this is discussed at length. V. 1. 224, b, 4, *ibid.* 1. 25 : ἡ κίνησις οὐκ ἐν τῷ εἶδει ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κινουμένῳ καὶ κινήτῳ κατ' ἐνέργειαν. vii. 3 : the ἀλλοίωσις takes place only in the material thing. *De An.* iii. 2, 426, a, 2 : εἰ δ' ἔστιν ἡ κίνησις καὶ ἡ ποίησις καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐν τῷ ποιουμένῳ . . . ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ καὶ κινήτικοῦ ἐνέργεια ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι ἐγγίνεται. διὸ οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὸ κινεῖν κινεῖσθαι . . . ἡ ποίησις καὶ ἡ πάθησις ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ ποιούντι. See further p. 358-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 378-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Phys.* iii. 2 *fin.* : ἡ κίνησις ἐντελέχεια τοῦ κινήτου ἢ κινήτῳ συμβάινει δὲ τοῦτο θίξει τοῦ κινήτικοῦ, ὥσθ' ἅμα καὶ πάσχει. vii. 1, 242, b, 24, vii. 2, *init.* : τὸ δὲ πρῶτον κινεῖν . . . ἅμα τῷ κινουμένῳ ἐστὶ λέγειν δὲ τὸ ἅμα, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν μεταξὺ· τοῦτο γὰρ κοινὸν ἐπὶ παντὸς κινουμένου καὶ κινούντος ἐστίν—which is then shown to be true of all kinds of motion. *Ibid.* viii. 2, 255, a, 34, c. 1, 251, b, 1 sqq.; *Gen. et Corr.* i. 6, 322, b, 21, c. 9, 327, a, 1; *Gen. An.* ii. 1, 734, a, 3 : κινεῖν τε γὰρ μὴ ἀπτόμενον ἀδύνατον; *Metaph.* ix. 5. Cf. n. 1 *supra*, and p. 387, n. 3. That this contact of the moving force with that which is moved, is conceived of by Aristotle as not merely a momentary one giving the first impulse only, but as lasting during the whole continuance of the motion, is obvious especially from his account of the motion

of throwing. Here the motion of the thrown seems to continue after contact with the thrower has ceased. But this Aristotle cannot admit to be the case. He therefore assumes (*Phys.* viii. 10, 266, b, 27 sqq., 267, b, 11, cf. iv. 8, 215, a, 14; *De Insomn.* 2, 459, a, 29 sqq.) that along with the thing thrown the thrower moves also the medium through which it moves (e.g. the air or water) and that the motion of the thing which is moved is communicated to it from this, when it has passed from the thrower. But since this motion continues after that of the thrower has ceased, while (according to his presupposition) the motion of the medium must cease simultaneously with that of the thrower, he adopts the curious solution that the medium can still produce motion even when it has itself ceased to be moved: οὐχ ἅμα παύεται κινεῖν καὶ κινούμενον ἀλλὰ κινούμενον μὲν ἅμα ὅταν ὁ κινεῖν παύσῃται κινῶν, κινεῖν δὲ ἔτι ἐστίν (267, a, 5). The law of inertia, according to which motion persists until it is met by an opposing force, was not, therefore, known to him. How the natural motion of the elements, which carries each of these to its proper place, can spring from contact with a moving force, it would be hard to say. By what is said of these, however (*Phys.* viii. 4, 254, b, 33 sqq., *De Caelo*, iv. 3 *fin.*), it is

Indeed, this appears to him so necessary that he asserts even of what is absolutely incorporeal that it acts only through contact: even thought apprehends its object by touching it<sup>1</sup>—the latter, however, is related to the thinking subject as Form to Matter<sup>2</sup>—and in like manner God, as the first cause of motion, is said, as we shall shortly see, to be in contact with the world.<sup>3</sup> But in what sense such expressions can be used of immaterial things, Aristotle has not further explained.

It follows from this that Motion is as eternal as Form and Matter, whose essential correlation it represents,<sup>4</sup> and that it has neither beginning nor end.<sup>5</sup> For if it had a beginning, the *movens* and the *motum* must either have existed before this beginning or not. If they did not exist, they must have come into being, and so a movement would have taken place before the first motion. If they did exist, we cannot suppose that they were at rest, since it was of their very nature to move. But if it be granted that they did move, some active force must have operated to endow them

not proved even that they are moved by anything else at all.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 203, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaph.* xii. 9, 1074, b, 19, 29; *De An.* iii. 4, 429, b, 22, 29 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 6, 322, b, 21: nothing can affect another without being in contact with it, and in the case of things which at the same time move and are moved, this contact must be mutual (323. a, 20 sqq.); ἔστι δ' ὡς ἐνίοτε φαμέν τὸ κινεῖν ἅπτεσθαι μόνον τοῦ κινουμένου, τὸ δ' ἅπτόμενον μὴ ἅπτεσθαι ἅπτομένου [that

which touches is not touched by anything which touches it again]

. . . ὥστε εἰ τι κινεῖ ἀκίνητον ὄν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἂν ἅπτοιο τοῦ κινήτου, ἐκεῖνου δὲ οὐδέν· φαμέν γὰρ ἐνίοτε τὸν λυπούντα ἅπτεσθαι ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἐκείνου. That this, however, is no more than a play upon words is obvious.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 341, n. 2, 345, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> With what follows, cf. SIEBECK, *Die Lehre d. Ar. v. d. Ewigkeit d. Welt* (*Untersuch. z. Phil. d. Griechen* Halle, 1873, pp 137 189).

It is from this resistance offered by matter to form that Aristotle derives all irregular natural phenomena (*τέρατα*), such as abortions and the like. He regards them as the stoppage of nature in the midst of an unfulfilled design, as a mutilation<sup>1</sup> and failure of the result which she originally intended.<sup>2</sup> Such phenomena arise from form not being completely master over matter.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, we may note that he even considers it a kind of abortion or failure of the ends of nature when children do not resemble their parents, and especially their father,<sup>4</sup> when a good man begets a bad son and *vice versa*,<sup>5</sup> when the nature of the body

cf. *Metaph.* ii. 3 *fin.* and p. 168, n. 1, 2, *supra*. Ritter's statement (see his p. 212) that the doctrine of Nature rests according to Aristotle rather on opinion than on science, seems to be due to a mistranslation of *Anal. Post.* i. 33, 89, a, 5, where ἡ φύσις ἡ τοιαύτη (i.e. τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ ἄλλως εἶχειν, as is clear from the context) is taken as = ἡ φύσις τοιαύτη—and Nature is so also (i.e. ἀβέβαιος).

<sup>1</sup> *Gen. An.* iv. 3, 759, b, 10 sqq. Aristotle is here speaking of abortions which want essential parts of the human body as well as those which have more than the proper number, and applies the above explanation to both: τέλος γὰρ τῶν μὲν κινήσεων (form-giving motion) λυομένων, τῆς δ' ὅλης οὐ κρατουμένης, μένει τὸ καθόλου μάλιστα· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ζῷον . . . τὸ τέρας ἀναπρία τίς ἐστιν. Cf. also 767, b, 13: τὸ δὲ τέρας οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν ἑνεκά του καὶ τὴν τοῦ τέλους αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἀναγκαῖον.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* ii. 8, 199, b, 1: εἰ δὴ

ἔστιν ἓνα κατὰ τέχνην ἐν οἷς τὸ ὀρθῶς ἑνεκά του, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτανόμενοις ἑνεκά μὲν τινος ἐπιχειρεῖται ἀλλ' ἀποτυγχάνεται, ὁμοῦς ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς καὶ τὰ τέρατα ἀμαρτήματα ἐκείνου τοῦ ἑνεκά του.

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. An.* iv. 4, 770, b, 9:

ἔστι γὰρ τὸ τέρας τῶν παρὰ φύσιν τι, παρὰ φύσιν δ' οὐ πᾶσαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ· περὶ γὰρ τὴν αἰὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὐθὲν γίνεται παρὰ φύσιν (a proposition which was afterwards applied by theologians to the miracles, and in this application has become famous, although it is not generally known that it comes from Aristotle). Even a τέρας, therefore, is in a certain sense κατὰ φύσιν, ὅταν μὴ κρατήσῃ τὴν κατὰ τὴν ὕλην ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος φύσις. Cf. previous n.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen. An.* ii. 3, 767, b, 5: δὲ μὴ ὁικίως τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἤδη τρόπον τινα τέρας ἐστίν.

<sup>5</sup> *Polit.* i. 6, 1255, b, 1: ἀξιοῦσι γὰρ, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἀνθρώπον καὶ ἐκ θηρίων γίνεσθαι θηρίον, οὕτω καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθόν·

that, none of the succeeding causes could operate. This conclusion cannot be avoided by presuming that the object moved produces its own motion, since it is necessary for the motive force already to be what the object moved is to become:<sup>1</sup> and hence the same thing cannot at the same time and in the same relation be both moved and moving. We are forced, therefore, to admit a *primum mobile*. That principle, again, might be either something moved and therefore something self-moving, or something unmoved. The first of these cases, however, resolves itself into the second, for even in a self-impelling substance the motive force must of necessity be different from what it moves. Consequently there must be an Unmoved Substance, which is the cause of all motion.<sup>2</sup> Or—as this is elsewhere more briefly demonstrated—since all motion must start from a motive principle, a motion which has no beginning presupposes a motive principle which is as eternal as the motion itself, and which, as the presupposition of all motion, must be itself unmoved.<sup>3</sup> Thus, then, we obtain three elements: that which merely is moved and never causes motion, = Matter; that which both causes motion and is itself moved, = Nature; that which causes motion without itself being moved, = God.<sup>4</sup>

Our previous pages will have shown that this position

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 384, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* viii. 5, cf. vii. 1 and ii. (a), 2, where it is agreed that neither efficient nor formal nor even final causes permit of a *regressus ad infinitum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.* xii. 6, 1071, b, 4: ἀνάγκη εἶναι τινα αἰδίων οὐσίαν ἀκίνητον. αἱ τε γὰρ οὐσίαι πρῶται τῶν ὄντων, καὶ εἰ πᾶσαι φθαρταί,

πάντα φθαρτά, ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον κίνησιν ἢ γενέσθαι ἢ φθαρῆναι· αἱ γὰρ ἦν. c. 7, 1072, a, 21: ἔστι τι αἰετινὸν κινούμενον κίνησιν ἀπαιστος . . . ἔστι τὸντιν τι καὶ ὃ κινεῖ.

<sup>4</sup> *Phys.* viii. 5, 256, b, 20; *Metaph.* xii. 7, 1072, a, 24 (as emended by BONITZ); *De An.* iii. 10, 433, b, 13.

with animals, are incomplete.<sup>1</sup> They display design but in a less developed form;<sup>2</sup> and they too, as we shall see, have an animate existence, although only in the lowest stage of its development and in its most rudimentary outline. Aristotle even goes further and recognises a degree of life, though the least possible, in what appears to be inorganic.<sup>3</sup> Thus Nature as a whole is the gradual conquest of Form over Matter—a continual progression towards more perfect development of life. That which is absolutely first, or Form, in its temporal origin is last, since all Becoming is a movement out of Matter into Form, and the beginning (that which comes first in the order of thought) is also in every case the end.<sup>4</sup> It follows that complex existences must be posterior to simple ones—the organic to the inorganic.<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, however, does not carry this thought beyond the sphere of earthly existence. He applies it chiefly to organic nature, in which he first had the insight to discover a continuous progress from inanimate to animate, from imperfect to perfect forms of existence.

nature produces wild plants and animals in greater quantity than tame ones, because it is easier to make what is imperfect than what is perfect, and because nature, like art, is only able to create the better after long practice. This, however, is an exaggeration of the Aristotelian doctrine of nature's weakness.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Gen. An.* iii. 7, 757, b, 19, 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* ii. 8, 199, b, 9: καὶ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ἔνεστι τὸ ἐνεκά του, ἥττον δὲ διήρθρωται.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 460, n. 3, *supra*; and

Ch. X. *infra*, at the end of pt. i.

<sup>4</sup> *Part. An.* ii. 1, 646, a, 25: τὰ ὕστερα τῇ γενέσει πρότερα τὴν φύσιν ἐστὶ, καὶ πρῶτον τὸ τῇ γενέσει τελευταῖον . . . τῷ μὲν οὖν χρόνῳ προτέραν τὴν ὕλην ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ τὴν γένεσιν, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ τὴν ἐκάστου μορφήν. *Metaφh.* ix. 8, 1050, a, 7: ἅπαν ἐπ' ἀρχὴν βαδίζει τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ τέλος· ἀοχὴ γὰρ τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα, τοῦ τέλους δ' ἔνεκα ἡ γένεσις. See also p. 206, n. 2, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Part. An.* 646, b, 4. *Meteor.* iv. 12, 389, b, 29: αἰεὶ δὲ, μᾶλλον δὴλον [τί ἐκαστον] ἐπὶ τῶν ὕστερων καὶ ὅλως ὅσα οἶον ὄργανα καὶ ἔνεκα

cation in his system, although there are, no doubt, certain points of them which must be interpreted in the light of a less rigid logic, or perhaps referred to an earlier form of his teaching more akin to Platonism. Presentiments which exhibit themselves in prophetic dreams and inspired states of feeling are only an obscure manifestation of the force which under the form of the Active Understanding unites the human and the divine intelligence.<sup>1</sup> The beauty of the world, the harmonious connection of its parts, the purpose observable in their arrangement, the splendour of the stars, and the inviolable order of their motions, point not only to astral spirits (in whom we shall have hereafter to recognise the guiding forces of the heavenly spheres), but also to a Being placed far above them, from whom alone the simple movement of the universe and the harmony between the whole and all the parts proceed.<sup>2</sup> Conse-

CIC. *N. D.* ii. 37, 95, which reminds us at the beginning, of Plato's picture of the dwellers in the cave (*Rep.* vii. *init.*): 'si essent, qui sub terra semper habitavissent . . . accepissent autem fama et auditione, esse quoddam numen et vim Deorum: deinde aliquo tempore, patefactis terræ faucibus, ex illis abditis sedibus evadere in hæc loca, quæ nos incolimus, atque exire potuissent: cum repente terram et maria cœlumque vidissent, nubium magnitudinem ventorumque vim cognovissent adspexissentque solem ejusque tum magnitudinem pulchritudinemque tum etiam efficientiam cognovissent, quod is diem efficeret toto cœlo luce diffusa:

cum autem terras nox opacasset, tum cœlum totum cernerent astris distinctum et ornatum lunæque luminum varietatem tum crescentis tum senescentis eorumque omnium ortus et occasus atque in omni æternitate ratos immutabilesque cursus: hæc cum viderent profecto et esse Deos et hæc tanta opera Deorum esse arbitrarentur.' According to CIC. *N. D.* ii. 49, 125, Aristotle seems to have pointed to the instinct of animals as a teleological argument for the being of God.

<sup>1</sup> For the fuller discussion of this see *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the passage from *De Cælo*, i. 9 quoted *infra*, in n. 6 at p. 395, cf. *Metaph.* xii. 7, 1072, a,

placed in direct connection with the doctrine of the eternity of motion,<sup>1</sup> yet it follows, equally with it, from the consideration that the operation of creative force in the world must be as eternal and unchangeable as that force itself, and that therefore the universe which is produced by it, however the individual parts may change,<sup>2</sup> cannot as a whole have had a beginning in time. Aristotle, indeed, nowhere expressly states this result in the works that have come down to us, although he approaches very near to it.<sup>3</sup> He contents himself, in

the treatise Π. φιλοσοφίας (see p. 56 sq. *supra*), at any rate from one of the dialogues, as Aristotle's view: 'Neque enim ortum esse unquam mundum, quod nulla fuerit novo consilio inito tam praeclari operis inceptio, et ita esse eum undique aptum ut nulla vis tantos queat motus mutationemque moliri, nulla senectus diuturnitate temporum existere ut hic ornatus unquam dilapsus occidat.' (Cf. PLATO, *Tim.* 34, B, 68, E, and elsewhere.) So PS. PHILO, *Etern.* M. ii. 489 (*Ar. Fr.* 17), where it is declared to be δεινὴ ἀθεότης to regard the δπαὶς θεός as no better than any human product.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 387, *supra*. The latter is even quite compatible with the doctrine of the birth and destruction of the world.

<sup>2</sup> On this, cf. p. 468, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Phys.* viii. 1, 251, a, 20 sqq. where, in opposing the view that motion had ever a beginning, he says: had the *movens* and the *mobile* existed without producing any motion, the transition from rest to motion could only have been effected by a previous change

either in one or both of them, and we should have to suppose a *πρωτέρα μεταβολή τῆς πρώτης*. Similarly we should have to conclude that as a preliminary to the transition from creation to destruction of the world or *vice versa* a change must take place in the creative force or in the material upon which it works. If both remain unchanged their mutual relation must also remain unchanged, and therefore also the resultant effect. But according to Aristotle, God is eternal, and unchangeable; matter, on the other hand (setting aside the doctrine of the immutability of the material of which the heavens are made), we know can only suffer change through the operation of the moving cause. If, therefore, the latter is unchangeable, its relation to the matter and the universe which is its product must be unchangeable. This is the argument indicated by Cicero in the passage quoted above, where Aristotle declares it to be inconceivable that so perfect a product as the world could



his investigations into the origin of the world, with proving that motion is eternal, and refuting the doctrine that the world has a beginning but no end.<sup>1</sup> The doctrine, however, is clearly involved in his metaphysics. For if the *primum movens* is unchangeable, the effect which it produces upon the world must always be the same. It cannot at one time act as a creative, at another as a destructive, force. The same conclusion follows also from Aristotle's scientific doctrine of the immutability of the material of which the heavenly spheres and the stars are made. Not only, therefore, does the doctrine of a beginning and end of the world in the sense of an absolute birth and destruction find no place in Ari-

have had a beginning *novo consilio inito*; whence it may be concluded that the creative force must have produced the best from all eternity in virtue of its own unchangeable perfection.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle devotes *De Cælo*, i. 10-12, to the proof that the heavens are without beginning and end, confining himself, however, almost exclusively to the attack on the Platonic view, that, while they will endure forever, they yet had a beginning in time. His chief argument against it is that beginning and endlessness, end and beginninglessness, are mutually exclusive. That which exists for an endless period can neither begin nor cease to be; in either case there must be a time in which it is not (see c. 12, 281, b, 18 sqq. where, however, it is proved in too formal a way). Why, moreover, should that which has not existed for all eternity begin to be at this par-

ticular moment? or why should that which has been from all eternity cease at this particular moment to exist? (283, a, 11) It is its own nature which constitutes a thing without beginning or end, and this in such a case excludes the possibility of not-being; the nature of that which has had a beginning and is liable to perish must, on the other hand, include it. The latter, therefore, cannot last for ever any more than the former can begin or end (l. 29 sqq.; cf. p. 366, n. 1, *fin.* and the passage quoted, *ibid. init.* from *Metaph.* ix. 8). The views, on the other hand, of those who hold that the world has both beginning and end are here only lightly touched upon. The atomic view Aristotle considered that he had disposed of by his doctrine of the unity of the world, while in reference to the view of Heraclitus and Empedocles he contents himself with remarking (c. 10, 280, a,

quently the arguments which Aristotle puts forward, in the passages indicated, to prove the existence of God, though based, like those of Socrates and Plato,<sup>1</sup> upon teleological principles—as well as the identification which he elsewhere establishes between the force of nature working to fixed ends and God<sup>2</sup>—are not a mere adaptation of his views to unscientific notions, but are in harmony with the spirit of his whole system. The

35 sqq., where God is described as the *ἄριστον* or *οὐ ἔνεκα*, and as thus the efficient cause of motion in the world; but especially c. 10, where the question is discussed: *ποτέρως ἔχει ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ ἄριστον, πότερον κεχωρισμένον τι καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ, ἢ τὴν τάξιν, ἢ ἀμφοτέρως, ὥσπερ στρατεύματα*. In the case of an army the good resides as well in the general as in the order of the whole: in the former, however, in a still more primary sense than in the latter. The universe is compared to an army: *πάντα δὲ συντέτακταί πως, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως, καὶ πλωτὰ καὶ πτηνὰ καὶ φυτὰ· καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι θατέρῳ πρὸς θατέρον μῆτιν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τι, πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἅπαντα συντέτακται, except that each creature is more fully subject to this order just in proportion to the nobility of its nature, even as in a household the freeborn are subjected to a stricter discipline than the slaves. *τοιούτῃ γὰρ ἐκδύσκειν ἀρχὴ αὐτῶν ἢ φύσις ἐστίν. λέγω δ' οἷον εἰς γε τὸ διακριθῆναι ἀνάγκη ἅπασιν ἔλθεῖν, καὶ ἄλλα οὕτως ἐστίν ὧν κοινωνεῖ ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ ὅλον*. All other systems are founded of necessity upon the opposite principle: Aristotle's is the only exception, *οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον τῷ**

*πρώτῳ οὐθέν* (1075, b, 21, 24). If, like Speusippus, we accept a whole series of primary principles we destroy the unity of all being (see the passage, Div. I. p. 854, 1); *τὰ δὲ ὄντα οὐ βούλεται πολιτεῦσθαι κακῶς*. “*οὐκ ἀγαθὸν τυλκοιρανίῃ· εἰς κοίρανος ἔσται*.” Cf. xiv. 3, 1090, b, 19, where he is again attacking Speusippus: *οὐκ εἴκοι δ' ἡ φύσις ἐπεισοδιώδους οὐσα ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων, ὥσπερ μοχθηρὰ τραγωδία*. We have the same point of view in *Fr.* 16, preserved to us only by an unknown scholiast, where Aristotle says: given several *ἀρχαί*, they must be either ordered or disordered. But the latter is impossible, since from disorder no natural order, no *κῆσμος*, could have arisen; *εἰ δὲ τεταγμένα, ἢ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐτάχθησαν ἢ ἐπὶ ἐξωθεν τινὸς αἰτίας*; but even in the former case *ἐχουσί τι κοινὸν τὸ συνάπτον αὐτὰς κακεῖνο ἢ ἀρχή*. The comparison of the order of the world with that of an army is further developed in *SEXT. Math.* ix. 26 sq., which perhaps follows Aristotle *Περὶ φιλοσοφίας*.

<sup>1</sup> See Div. i. p. 143 sq. 786 (ZELLER'S *Plato*, Eng. Tr. p. 281 sqq. 485).

<sup>2</sup> *De Caelo*, i. 4 fin.: *ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μᾶτῃν ποιοῦσιν*.

unity of the world and its adaptation to fixed ends can only be explained by the unity of the Supreme Cause. It is not without good reason, also, that Aristotle in his most important treatises connected the proof of the reality of the Supreme Being with his theory of motion: for this is the point at which the Changeable is seen most directly to lean upon an Unchangeable, as itself the condition of all change.

The further characteristics of the Supreme Being may be determined from what has gone before. Motion being eternal, it must be continuous (*συνεχής*), and so it must be one and the same throughout. But such a single motion is the product of a single *mobile* and a single *motum*. Hence the *primum mobile* is single and is as eternal as motion itself.<sup>1</sup> In the next place what has been said about the continuity and uniformity of motion implies that this motive principle is absolutely unmoved; since that which is moved, being itself subject to change, cannot impart an unbroken and uniform movement,<sup>2</sup> and consequently it is of the essence of the *primum mobile* to exclude the possibility of change.<sup>3</sup> It is unchangeable and absolutely necessary; and this unconditional necessity is the law by

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* viii. 6, 259, a, 13; *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1073, a, 23 sqq., where in connection with the *πρώτη ἀίδιος καὶ μὴ κίνησις*, that of the fixed stars, it is shown how single motion presupposes a single moving cause. Cf. p. 391, n. 2. On the constancy and unity of motion we shall have more to say in the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* viii. 6, 259, b, 22, c. 10, 267, a, 24 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> In *Fr.* 15 (preserved to us by *SIMPL. De Celo*, 130, 45, K., *Schol. in Ar.* 487, a, 6), from the treatise *Π. φιλοσοφίας*, the immutability of God is proved on the ground that the *κράτιστον* can neither suffer change from anything else nor feel in itself the need of any such change. (It must be granted to *BERNAYS, Dial. d. Arist.* 113, and *HEITZ, Ar. Fragm.* p. 37, that

its natural motion.<sup>1</sup> The body that is destined for circular motion is also without beginning or ending, subject to neither increase nor diminution, neither impression nor change.<sup>2</sup> His argument for this is that everything that comes into being springs from its opposite, and everything that perishes is resolved into the same;<sup>3</sup> all increase and decrease depend upon addition or subtraction of the matter out of which a thing has grown, and therefore that which, being without beginning, possesses no such matter, cannot increase or decrease; all bodies, finally, which alter, either increase or decrease, and where there is no such process neither is there any alteration.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* c. 3, 269, b, 18-270, a, 12; nor can the position *βία μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τὴν ἄλλου καὶ ἑτέρου* [sc. *κίνησιν κινεῖσθαι*] (c. 2, 269, a, 7) be accepted except provisionally as of universal validity. As is shown in the sequel, it is inapplicable to the æther. The position upon which the latter conclusion rests, (viz. that movement in a circle has no opposite). Aristotle, indeed, endeavours (c. 4) further to establish by special proofs. But he cannot prove that the motion may not be crooked or oblique; for if we have two opposite motions on the same or on parallel lines which deviate in opposite directions, it does not make the slightest difference whether the lines are straight or circular. Moreover, the courses of the fixed stars and of the planets are actually in opposite directions; why may these bodies not, then, consist of different ætherial substance? We are not warranted, however, with MEYER

(*Aristot. Tierkunde*, 393) in casting a doubt upon Aristotle's clearly expressed meaning, merely on the ground of the actual difficulties that beset the theory.

<sup>2</sup> He says, *De Cælo*, i. 3, 270, a, 13, b, 1: *ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀνανξὲς καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον, αἰδιον καὶ οὐτ' αὐξησιν ἔχον οὔτε φθίσιν, ἀλλ' ἀγήρατον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον καὶ ἀπαθές*. Cf. *Metaph.* viii. 4, 1044, b, 7, xii. 1, 2, 1069, a, 30, b, 25.

<sup>3</sup> On this point, cf. also p. 341 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *De Cælo*, i. 3, 270, a, 13-35. The immutability of the body which has no opposite might have been proved more simply and conclusively from the proposition (p. 341, and p. 353 sq. above) that all change means transition from one state into its opposite, and that a thing can only be operated upon by its opposite. Aristotle, however, does not here adopt this method, as his investigation into the conception of change and affection was not published until later—in his

the limits of an isolated self-contemplation. But this

πράξεις ἐξωτερικαί, actions which elsewhere are called simply πράξεις in the narrower sense of the word—from τὰς αὐτοτελεῖς, καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεκα θεωρίας καὶ διανοήσεως, and attributes only the latter to God, in opposing the view that the practical life is superior to the theoretic; σχολῇ γὰρ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔχοι καλῶς καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, οἷς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐξωτερικαὶ πράξεις παρὰ τὰς οἰκείας τὰς αὐτῶν. Still less is it a pertinent objection that in using popular language Aristotle ascribes ποιεῖν to God, as in *De Caelo*, i. 4 fin. (ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μᾶττον ποιοῦσιν), *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 10, 336, b, 31 (συνεπλήρωσε τὸ ὄλον ὁ θεός, ἐντελεχὴ ποιήσας τὴν γένεσιν). θεός here means the divine force which governs nature, whose relation to the first cause of motion is left, as we shall see, wholly undefined; nor can we draw any conclusion from this use as to Aristotle's view of God as the absolute supramundane reason, any more than from the frequent use of θεοὶ as in *Eth.* x. 8, quoted above, and *ibid.* viii. 14, 1162, a, 4, x. 9, 1179, a, 24, we may argue that Aristotle was a polytheist. Ποιεῖν also in these passages seems to be used quite generally and not to be limited any more than ποιητικόν, *Metaph.* xii. 6, 1071, b, 12 (to which BRENTANO appeals, but which is nowhere directly applied to God by Aristotle) to the narrower sense discussed p. 182; it bears merely the general signification of creation or production, as in the phrase νοῦς ποιητικὸς, and merely indicates causality in general with-

out further specification of its nature.—But if action does not belong to God, neither can will, for as will (προαίρεσις) is ἀρχὴ πράξεως and originates in turn in a desire on the one hand and the conception of an end on the other, it always presupposes an ἡθικὴ ἔξις (*Eth.* vi. 2, 1139, a, 31): and these ideas it is impossible to reconcile with Aristotle's conception of God. Furthermore, βούλησις, *De An.* iii. 10, 433, a, 23, is defined as rational desire; but desire cannot in any sense be ascribed by Aristotle to God; nor can we admit the assertion of BRENTANO, p. 246, that because he ascribes to Him ἡδονή, he must also have ascribed to Him something corresponding to desire in us. It is only of sensuous λύπη and ἡδονή that Aristotle says (*De An.* ii. 2, 413, b, 23) that it involves ἐπιθυμία; he expressly adds that he is not here speaking of Nous; and *ibid.* iii. 7, 431, a, 10 he declares ὀρεκτικόν and φευκτικόν to be identical with αἰσθητικόν, and remarks iii. 9, 10, 432, b, 27, 433, a, 14, cf. *Eth.* vi. 2, 1139, a, 35, that the νοῦς θεωρητικὸς (therefore also the divine) does not deal with the φευκτὸν and διωκτὸν by which desire is always conditioned. It is evident that those passages in which Aristotle uses the common conceptions of God as generally admitted premisses from which conclusions may be drawn—*e.g.* *Top.* iv. 5, 126, a, 34; *Eth.* x. 9, 1179, a, 24, or, indeed, such quotations as *Eth.* vi. 2, 1139, b, 9, *Rhet.* ii. 23, 1398, a, 15—prove nothing. Such statements as that God 'in making Himself the



he recognises,<sup>1</sup> in the adaptations of nature, traces of the operation of God, and that he finds in human Reason an indwelling element of Divinity.<sup>2</sup> But if we attempt to bring these convictions into harmony with his theology as above discussed, we are met by many questions to which it is not easy to find an answer.

In the first place, it is obvious that if God exercises neither creative nor practical activity in relation to anything else, He cannot be the *primum mobile*. Here, however, we are met by the notion to which we have already alluded: that Form, without moving itself, exercises a power of attraction over Matter, causing it to move in its direction. 'God moves the world in this way: the object of desire and the object of thought cause motion without moving themselves. But these two motive forces are ultimately the same (the absolute object of thought is the absolutely desirable or pure good); for the object of desire is apparent beauty, while the original object of will is real beauty; but desire is conditioned by our notion (of the value of the object) and not *vice versa*. Thought, therefore, is the starting-point or principle. Thought, however, is set in motion by the object of thought; but only one of the two series is absolutely intelligible,<sup>3</sup> and in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 421, and p. 460 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth.* ix. 7, 9, 1177, a, 13, b, 30, 1179, a, 26; *Gen. An.* ii. 3, 736, b, 27, 737, a, 10; *De An.* i. 4, 408, b, 29; *Part. An.* ii. 10, 656, a, 7, iv. 10, 686, a, 28, 373.

<sup>3</sup> *Νοητὴ δὲ ἡ ἐτέρα συστοιχία καθ' αὐτήν*. By this *ἐτέρα συστοιχία* we are to understand, as the more recent commentators right-

ly point out, and as is obvious from l. 35, the series of being and good. The expression refers to the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine of the universally prevalent antithesis of being and non-being, perfection and imperfection, &c., which Aristotle had discussed at length in the *Ἐκλογὴ τῶν Ἐναντίων* (see p. 61, n. 1,

this Being stands first, defined as simple and actual.<sup>1</sup> 'The final cause operates like a loved object, and that which is moved by it communicates motion to the rest.'<sup>2</sup> God, therefore, is the *primum mobile* only in so far as He is the absolute end of the world,<sup>3</sup> the Governor, as it were, whose will all obey, but who never sets his own hand to the work.<sup>4</sup> And He fulfils this function by being absolute Form. As Form in general moves Matter by inviting it to pass from potentiality into actuality, the operation of God upon the world must be of the same sort.<sup>5</sup> Without doubt

*supra*) and often alludes to elsewhere; cf. *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, a, 1, ix. 2, 1046, b, 2, xiv. 6, 1093, b, 12, i. 5, 986, a, 23; *Phys.* iii. 2, 201, b, 25, i. 9, 192, a, 14; *Gen. et Corr.* i. 3, 319, a, 14.

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph.* xii. 7, 1072, a, 26; see BONITZ and SCHWEGLER.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 1072, b, 3: *κινεῖ δὲ ὡς ἐράμενον, κινούμενον* (better Cod. E T: *κινουμένην*) δὲ τὰλλα κινεῖ.

<sup>3</sup> As also do the movers of the celestial spheres (to be discussed *infra*, Ch. IX. in the section on the Spheres); these cause motion, according to *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1074, a, 23, *ὡς τέλος οἶσαι φορᾶς*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* xii. 10 *init.* and *fin.*

<sup>5</sup> The subject, however, is here only treated generally: the question is not whether God moves the world but how He moves it, and it is therefore irrelevant when BRENTANO, *ibid.* 235 sq., contests the assertion that God 'is not the first operative principle, but only the final cause, of being'; that according to Aristotle 'no operation at all belongs' to Him. This assertion

would certainly be strange, for if God is the first mover He must be the first operator, since the *κινητικὸν αἴτιον* and the *ποιητικὸν* are the same (*De An.* iii. 5 *init.*; *Gen. An.* i. 21, 729, b, 13; *Metaph.* xii. 6, 1071, b, 12; *Gen. et Corr.* i. 7, 324, b, 13: *ἔστι δὲ τὸ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον ὡς ὁθεν ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως*) and only a certain kind of *ποίησις* is denied of God (see p. 400, n. 1). But it is quite another thing to say that according to Aristotle God operates upon the world not directly but indirectly, not by Himself exercising activity upon it, but as perfect being by eliciting its activity by his mere existence; He is efficient cause only in virtue of his being final cause. Nor is it sufficient to discredit this statement to adduce passages in which God is described in general as the moving or efficient principle of the world. No one doubts that this is so. To prove our view wrong, it would be necessary to produce passages in which direct action upon the world is attributed to Him; it would be further neces-

Aristotle supposes, the *motum* must be in contact<sup>1</sup> with the *mobile*, it follows that the Universe must be in contact with the *primum mobile*, as, indeed, Aristotle explicitly states.<sup>2</sup> It is true that he endeavours to exclude the notion of contiguity in space from this idea; for he often employs the expression 'contact' when the context clearly proves that he does not allude to juxtaposition in space, but only to an immediate connection between two things.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, he asserts<sup>4</sup> that the *motum* is in contact with the *primum mobile*, but not *vice versa*. But even though we overlook the contradiction that is here involved, we find the notion

of efficiency.—Similar to the action of God Himself is that of the spherul spirits, which produce motion in their respective spheres as being themselves the end of the motion; cf. p. 405, n. 3.—It is still more strange that BRENTANO goes beyond the view which he combats, in saying, p. 240, that according to *Metaph.* xii. 7, 1072, a, 26: 'God moves as known'; for since matter, as he himself adds, cannot know God, it would follow from this that God does not move matter at all. The assertion, however, rests upon a misunderstanding. Aristotle says (cf. p. 404): τὸ ὁρεκτὸν καὶ τὸ νοητὸν κινεῖ οὐ κινούμενον . . . νοῦς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ κινεῖται . . . κινεῖ δὲ ὡς ἐράμενον. As νοητὸν God moves only Nous (to which, however, motion can be ascribed only in an improper sense; cf. Ch. XI. at the commencement and at the end, *infra*); the world, on the other hand, He moves as ἐράμενον by means of the ὑπερίσ which He causes. We, indeed, should

not think of ascribing any such quality to matter, and we should hesitate scarcely less to attribute to plants and animals a 'longing after the divine' as Aristotle does in *De An.* ii. 4, 415, a, 26 sqq. (see Ch. X. pt. 2, *infra*). Even the doctrine of a plant and animal soul would scarcely justify such a view in our eyes, as from such a soul the thought of God is necessarily excluded. But just as Aristotle here attributes to non-rational existence an unconscious yearning after τὸ θεῖον, so the conception of a world animate throughout, so natural to the Greek and yet resting ultimately on an untenable anthropological analogy, enables him to view the astral spheres, which he holds to be of a far higher nature than any earthly existence (see Ch. IX. on the Universe), in the sameligh.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 6, 323, a, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 203, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen. et Corr. ibid.*; see p. 387, n. 3, *supra*.



of existence in space forced upon us still more remarkably by the further assertion that God in setting the world in motion starts from its circumference. For since generally the primordial motion is taken to be motion in space,<sup>1</sup> and of the original motions in space none is absolutely continuous and uniform except circular motion,<sup>2</sup> the operation of the first mover upon the world must consist in the production of circular motion.<sup>3</sup> According to Aristotle, this might be effected either from the centre or the circumference of the world, for both of these places are ἀρχαί, and command the whole movement. He prefers the latter, however, because it is clear that the circumference moves faster than the centre, and that which is nearest to the cause of motion ought to move at the quickest rate.<sup>4</sup> In defending this position he might hope to evade the objection that he places God in a particular locality by his peculiar theory of space, which excluded from the notion everything that lay beyond the limits of the world.<sup>5</sup> It is obvious, however, that we cannot accept this defence. Again as the Deity, relatively to Himself, is confined to the unvarying exercise of uniform self-contemplation, so, in his relation to the world, He has no other function but that of monotonously causing circular motion. To explain the rich variety of finite existence with the

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* viii. 7, 9; see p. 421 sq. *Cælo*, i. 9, 279, a, 16 sqq. (see p. 395, n. 6, *supra*). Hence the

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* c. 8 sq.; *De Cælo*, i. 2; assertion (SEXT. *Math.* x. 23; *Hypotyp.* iii. 218) that God is

<sup>3</sup> *Phys.* viii. 6 *fin.*, c. 8 *fin.*; to Aristotle τὸ πέρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

*Metaph.* xii. 6 *fin.*; c. 8, 1073, a, 23 sqq. <sup>5</sup> Cf. *De Cælo*, i. 9 (cited as

<sup>4</sup> *Phys.* viii. 10, 267, b, 6; *De* above, at p. 395, n. 6) and p. 432, n. 5.

bodies capable of being perceived by the senses are prehensible; but all qualities perceptible by the sense of touch, with the exception of gravity and levity,<sup>1</sup> are reducible to four—warmth, cold, dryness, moisture.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle regards the first two of these properties as active, the others as passive.<sup>3</sup> Now, by joining these

attributed to Hippocrates. The former is without doubt the work, or an extract from a work, of Polybus, his son-in-law: the latter is of post-Aristotelian origin, cf. KÜHN, *Hippocr. Opp.* I. cxlvii., clv.; LITTRE, *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, i. 345 sqq. 384. Again, while the treatise Π. φύσιος ἀνθρώπου recognises (c. 1 *init.*) Empedocles's four elements and even makes heat and cold, dryness and moisture the constituent elements of every living thing (c. 3), it yet does not bring these two positions together as Aristotle does, or deduce each of the four elements from the various combinations of those four properties into pairs; nor, indeed, does GALEN (see *supra*) claim this for it. The treatise Π. σαρκῶν, on the other hand, refers (at i. 425, κ) to the Aristotelian account of the elements, but this merely proves that it is later than Aristotle. That heat and cold, dryness and moisture, were regarded as the elements of things in the medical schools of his time, is corroborated by PLATO, *Sym.* 186, D. 187, D. The early physicists regarded the conflict of heat and cold as the primary principle of evolution and frequently united with it that of dryness and moisture, without, however, as yet expressly combining these four as the primary properties of things.

Cf. ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 205, 241, 519 sq. 897.

<sup>1</sup> We have not here to do with these, as they do not indicate a particular kind of action and passion; the elements, on the other hand, stand to one another in that particular relation of action and passion (*ibid.* 329, b, 20), which the treatise on birth and destruction chiefly discusses.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 329, b, 24: θερμὸν δὲ καὶ ψυχρὸν καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ ξηρὸν τὰ μὲν τῷ ποιητικῷ εἶναι τὰ δὲ τῷ παθητικῷ λέγεται· θερμὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ συγκρίνον τὰ ὁμογενῆ [from which it follows that fire separates heterogeneous elements], ψυχρὸν δὲ τὸ συνάγον καὶ συγκρίνον ὁμοίως τὰ τε συγγενῆ καὶ τὰ μὴ ὁμόφυλα, ὑγρὸν δὲ τὸ ἀόριστον οἰκείῳ ὄρῳ εὐόριστον ὄν, ξηρὸν δὲ τὸ ἀόριστον μὲν οἰκείῳ ὄρῳ, δυσόριστον δέ. (Cf. *Meteor.* iv. 4, 381, b, b, 29.) The qualities λεπτὸν, παχὺ, γλίσχρον, κραιῶρον, μαλακὸν, σκληρὸν are reduced to these primary qualities; διερὸν and βεβρεγμένον form two kinds of moisture, ξηρὸν in its narrower sense and πεπηγὸς of dryness.

<sup>3</sup> *Meteor.* iv. 1 *init.*: ἐπεὶ δὲ τέτταρα διώρισται αἷτια τῶν στοιχείων, . . . ὧν τὰ μὲν δύο ποιητικὰ, τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν, τὰ δὲ δύο παθητικὰ, τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν· ἡ δὲ πίστις τούτων ἐκ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς. φαίνεται γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡ μὲν

or in the Matter? In support of the second alternative it might be asserted that everything requires some material in order to be what it is.<sup>1</sup> Yet Aristotle is forced to maintain the first alternative. The essence of things invariably resides in the Form; it is only by its Form and purpose that a natural object becomes what it is.<sup>2</sup> The true causes are the final causes; the material causes are only the indispensable conditions of natural existence.<sup>3</sup> If, therefore, we wish to determine the general definition of Nature, we must not consider what in it is material, so much as the moving and informing force.<sup>4</sup> Nature is the cause of motion and rest in everything which possesses these conditions of being originally and not merely in some derivative fashion. A natural thing is one that has such a motive force within itself.<sup>5</sup>

But Aristotle does not help us greatly in defining

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* ii. 1, 193, a, 9-30. *Metaph.* v. 4, 1014, b, 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* ii. 1, 198, a, 28 sqq. c. 2, 194, a, 12. *Metaph.* as above, 1. 35 sqq. *Part. An.* i. 1, 640, b, 28, 641, a, 29, b, 23 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> For a fuller discussion of this point see *infra* and p. 357-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Part. An.* i. 640, b, 28: ἡ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν μορφήν φύσις κυριωτέρα τῆς ὑλικῆς φύσεως. 641, a, 30: the scientific investigator has to deal with the soul still more than with the body, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ὕλη δι' ἐκείνην φύσις ἐστὶν ἢ ἀνάπαλιν.

<sup>5</sup> *Phys.* ii. 1, 192, b, 20: ὡς οὕσης τῆς φύσεως ἀρχῆς τινὸς καὶ αἰτίας τοῦ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἡρεμεῖν ἐν ᾧ ὑπαρχει πρῶτως καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός. 1. 32: φύσις μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὸ ῥηθὲν· φύσιν δὲ ἔχει ὅσα τοιαύτην ἔχει ἀρχήν. *Metaph.*

v. 4 *fin.*: ἡ πρώτη φύσις καὶ κυρίως λεγομένη ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία ἢ τῶν ἐχόντων ἀρχὴν κινήσεως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ αὐτά. vi. 1, 1025, b, 19 [xi. 7, 1064, a, 15, 30]: περὶ γὰρ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐστὶν οὐσίαν [ἢ φυσικὴ] ἐν ἣ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ στάσεως ἐν αὐτῇ (or 1. 26: περὶ τοιοῦτον δὲ ὅ ἐστι δυνατόν κινεῖσθαι). It is indifferent whether nature is described as the substratum of motion merely, or of rest as well, since, according to Aristotle, rest (ἡρεμία, στάσις) belongs as an attribute only to those things to which motion belongs, or at least can belong, and is merely στέρησις κινήσεως. *Phys.* iii. 2, 202, a, 3, v. 2, 226, b, 12, c. 6 *init.*, vi. 3, 234, a, 32 c. 8 239, a, 13, viii. 1, 251, a, 26.

and into which all are resolved.<sup>1</sup> Their own primitive and indecomposable nature is proved by the fact that though they can, by transmutation, pass into each other, they never excrete any other body from themselves.<sup>2</sup> Every composite body in the terrestrial kingdom contains all of them.<sup>3</sup> Yet they are never revealed to our experience in perfect purity.<sup>4</sup> For example, elemental fire must not be confounded with a flame, which is produced by an intensification of its warmth, as ice is by an intensification of the cold natural to water. Elemental fire is caloric, or warm and dry evaporation;<sup>5</sup> flame, on the contrary, is no constant

<sup>1</sup> *De Caelo*, iii. 3. *Metaph.* v. 3, see p. 481, n. 1, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *De Caelo*, iii. 3, 302, a, 19 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> As is more fully proved, *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 3, 330, b, 21: οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὁ ἀήρ καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ μικτόν· τὰ δ' ἀπλὰ τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐστίν, οὐ μέντοι ταῦτά [ταῦτα], οἷον εἴ τι τῶ πυρὶ ὅμοιον, πυροειδές, οὐ πῦρ, καὶ τὸ τῶ ἀέρι ἀεροειδές· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Cf. *Meteor.* ii. 4, 359, b, 32, where, referring to the distinction between wet and dry vapour, which is discussed below, he says: ἔστι δ' οὕτε τὸ ὑγρὸν ἄνευ τοῦ ξηροῦ οὕτε τὸ ξηρὸν ἄνευ τοῦ ὑγροῦ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν. *Ibid.* ii. 5, 362, a, 9: dry vapours are only produced where moisture is present. *Ibid.* iv. 8. According to *Phys.* iv. 7, 214, a, 32, air is intermingled with water; whereas, in *De Sensu*, c. 5, 443, a, 4, this is controverted; cf. MEYER, *Arist. Thierkunde*, 404 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 3, 330, b, 25; τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἐστὶν ὑπερβολή

θερμότητος, ὥσπερ καὶ κρύσταλλος ψυχρότητος· ἡ γὰρ πῆξις καὶ ἡ ζέσις ὑπερβολαὶ τινές εἰσιν, ἡ μὲν ψυχρότητος ἡ δὲ θερμότητος. εἰ οὖν ὁ κρύσταλλός ἐστι πῆξις ὑγροῦ ψυχροῦ, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔσται ζέσις ξηροῦ θερμοῦ, διὸ καὶ οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἐκ κρυπτάλλου γίγνεται οὐτ' ἐκ πυρός. The same remark is made about fire, *Meteor.* i. 3, 340, b, 21, c. 4, 341, b, 22; cf. l. 13: πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον φορὰν ἐστὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ξηρὸν, ὃ λέγομεν πῦρ· ἀνάνυμον γὰρ τὸ κοινόν, &c. What is called 'fire' is a kind of inflammable material (ὑπέκκαυμα) which, like smoke, can be kindled by a little motion. Heraclitus had identified fire with heat in general (see ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 588 sq.); the distinction between fire and the heat of fire appears in his school (PLATO, *Crat.* 413, c). Aristotle had a special reason for emphasising this distinction, as is indicated by the above passage from the *Meteorology*. For it was impossible that between the aerial and the celestial sphere there should

and from this point of view he will not allow that Nature as a whole is divine, but only demonic.<sup>1</sup> Yet there are other passages in which he seems to follow the popular theology of the Greeks, who recognised and revered an immediate exhibition of divine force in natural phenomena. Nature and God are so used synonymously,<sup>2</sup> and a share in divinity is conceded to all natural existences, however trivial.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, this vacillation of view is deeply rooted in Aristotle's philosophy. So far as God is the first cause of motion, all motions in the universe must proceed from Him; natural forces can only be an emanation of his force, and natural causes a manifestation of his causality. On the other hand, if we confine the functions of the *primum movens* to setting the outer sphere of heaven in motion, these conclusions are impossible. If even in the heavenly sphere we have to assume in addition to the Supreme Mover a series of subordinate and eternal beings, it is still more necessary in order to explain the much greater variety of movements in the realm of nature to assume a train of independent substances endowed with motive power of their own. How the harmony of these movements or their conjunction in an orderly system is effected, it is hard to say. It cannot be by the

<sup>1</sup> *Divin. p.* S. c. 2, 463, b, 12: since beasts also dream, dreams cannot be divine; they may, however, be demoniacal; ἡ γὰρ φύσις δαιμονία, ἀλλ' οὐ θεία.

<sup>2</sup> *De Caelo*, i. 4 *fin.*: ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μᾶτην ποιούσιν. *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 10, 336, b, 27 sqq. (see next chapter, *infra*). *Polit.* vii. 4, 1326, a, 32: θείας γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο δυνάμει ἐργον, ἥτις καὶ τότε συν-

έχει τὸ πᾶν. *Eth. N.* x. 10, 1179, b, 21: τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς φύσεως [the moral disposition] . . . διὰ τινος θείας αἰτίας τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐτυχέειν ὑπάρχει. The θείαι αἰτίαι correspond here to the Platonic *θεία μοῖρα*, as to which see ZELLER's *Plato* and cf. p. 402 sqq. *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Eth. N.* vii. 14, 1153, b, 32: πάντα γὰρ φύσει ἔχει τι θεῖον.



natural operation of the *primum motoris* upon the world. Aristotle's philosophy, moreover, excludes the conception of God's immediate interference in the course of the universe; and it would be illegitimate to attribute to Aristotle the popular belief in Providence, on the strength of a passing allusion to it in his writings.<sup>1</sup> Consequently it remains in obscurity whether we are to regard Nature as a single force or as an assemblage of forces, as something independent or as an emanation from the divine activity; or, on the other hand, whether we ought to combine these two points of view, and, if so, how we ought to do it. But meantime we may permit Aristotle further to unfold his view of Nature.

The most important idea with which we have to deal in the Philosophy of Nature is that of Motion. In our earlier researches we had to examine this idea in its general bearing; therefore what now remains is that we should supplement our previous conclusions with an analysis of physical motion in its stricter and more special sense.

Motion was defined generally on p. 380 sq. as the actualisation of what exists potentially. By analysing the different sorts of Motion we arrive at the special definition of its physical character. Aristotle distin-

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. N. x. 9, 1179, a. 22*: δ δὲ κατὰ νοὺν ἐνεργῶν καὶ τοῦτον θεραπεύων καὶ διακείμενος ἄριστα καὶ θεοφιλέστατος ἔοικεν εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ τις ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὑπὸ θεῶν γίνεται, ὥσπερ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἴη ἂν εὐλογον χαίρειν τε αὐτοὺς τῷ ἁρίστω καὶ τῷ συγγενεστάτῳ (τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ νοῦς) καὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας μάλιστα τοῦτο καὶ τιμῶντας ἀντε-

ποιεῖν ὡς τῶν φίλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελου- μένους καὶ ὁρθῶς τε καὶ καλῶς πράττοντας, ὅτι δὲ πάντα ταῦτα τῷ σοφῷ μάλιστα ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἄδηλον. θεοφιλέστατος ἄρα. It is obvious that Aristotle is here arguing from popular conceptions; he himself ascribes to God no external operation. Cf. pp. 389 sqq. *supra*.

guishes three kinds: quantitative motion, or increase and decrease; qualitative motion, or alteration; and motion in space, or locomotion—to which may be added as a fourth kind, birth and destruction.<sup>1</sup> Now all these kinds of movement may be ultimately resolved into the third kind—Motion in Space. For, if we examine them more closely, we find that increase or growth, to begin with, consists in the addition of fresh material to matter which has already received a certain form: the increment is potentially but not actually identical with that which it augments, and assumes its form; in other

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* v. 1, 225, a, c. 2, 226, a, 23 (*Metaph.* xi. 11, 12), cf. *Metaph.* viii. 1, 1042, a, 32, xii. 2 *init.*, *Phys.* viii. 7, 260, a, 26, 261, a, 32 sqq., vii. 2 *init.* *Gen. et Corr.* i. 4, 319, b, 31; *De An.* i. 3, 406, a, 12; *Long.* v. 3, 465, b, 30; *De Caelo.* iv. 3, 310, a, 25. *Cat.* c. 14 *init.* Aristotle here distinguishes generally three kinds of change (*μεταβολή*): transition from being to being, from being to not-being, and from not-being to being. The first is *motion* in the stricter sense, the second *destruction*, the third *origination*. Motion he then divides into the kinds mentioned in the text (*κίνησις κατὰ μέγεθος, κατὰ πᾶθος κατὰ τόπον*, as he calls them *Phys.* viii. 7, 260, b, 26), and, taking birth and destruction again together, thus enumerates four kinds of *μεταβολή*: *ἡ κατὰ τὸ τι (γένεσις καὶ φθορά), ἡ κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν (αὐξήσις καὶ φθίσις), ἡ κατὰ τὸ ποῖον (ἀλλοίωσις), ἡ κατὰ τὸ ποῦ (φορά)*. That these are the only categories under which motion can be thought, is shown *Phys.* v. 2, where change of substance (birth and destruction) is not admitted to be motion (similarly c. 5, 229, a, 30; cf. *SIMPL. Phys.* 201, b, who extends the statement to the Peripatetic school in general, remarking, however, that Theophrastus, among others, did not keep strictly to this use of language); elsewhere Aristotle treats this also as a form of motion, and uses 'motion' as synonymous with 'change.' See p. 382, n. 3, *supra*. *Phys.* vii. 2, 243, a, 21 (cf. *De An.* i. 3, 406, a, 4) distinguishes two kinds of locomotion: that which is self-originated and that which is caused by something else. The latter again is of four kinds: *ἐλξίς, ὥσις, ὄχησις, δίρησις*, the third and fourth of which, however, may be resolved into the first two. Cf. viii. 10, 267, b, 9 sqq.; *De An.* iii. 10, 433, b, 25; *Ingr. An.* c. 2, 704, b, 22 (*Mot. An.* c. 10, 703, a, 19); the statement in *Rhet.* i. 5, 1361, b, 16, is less exact. "*ὥσις* is either *ὥσις* in the stricter sense, or *πληγή*; *Meteor.* iv. 9, 386, a, 33; *De An.* ii. 8, 419, b, 13, and cf. *Probl.*

where such increase is an augmentation of matter, the form remaining constant. Similarly decrease is the diminution of matter without change of form.<sup>1</sup> Quantitative alteration, therefore, implies both qualitative movement and locomotion.<sup>2</sup> But the second of these two is prior to the first: for every transformation results from the coincidence of something which produces it with something in which it is produced, of an active and a passive element.<sup>3</sup> This coincidence, then, can only take place by local contact, for (although the converse is not necessarily true) the patient must always be touched by the agent, and contact cannot be effected without locomotion.<sup>4</sup>

Even the last species of change, birth and destruction, is eventually founded upon movement in space. If one were to assume an absolute beginning or end of existence, such a transmutation could not, indeed, be called a movement, since in such a case the substratum of the movement would itself begin or end. But birth and annihilation in this absolute sense are really impossible.<sup>5</sup> Everything starts from

εξελ. 9, 936, b, 38. IDELER, *Arist. Meteor.* ii, 509.

<sup>1</sup> Vide the full discussion in *Gen. et Corr.* i, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Phys.* viii, 7, 260, a, 29, b, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ποιῶν* in the physical sense is synonymous to Aristotle with *ἀλλοιῶναι*, *πράττειν* with *ἀλλοιῶσθαι*. Cf. *Phys.* iii, 3, 81a: *ἀλλοιῶσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἀλλοιωτοῦ, ἢ ἀλλοιωτοῦ, ἐντελέχεια· ἐπεὶ δὲ γινώσκοντες ἡ τοῦ δοῦναι ποιητικοῦ καὶ παθητικοῦ ἢ τοιούτου.* *Gen. et Corr.* i, 10, 322, b, 9, 323, a, 17: *οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲν το πᾶν ἐκ κινῶν ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν δὲ ποιεῖν ἀντιθέσμεν τῷ*

*ποιεῖν*· τῶντο δ' οἷς ἡ κίνησις οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀλλοιωτική αἰτία. On a further meaning of *ποιεῖν* see in n. 1 to p. 400.

<sup>4</sup> *Phys.* viii, 7, 260, b, 1 sqq., where it is further remarked that all qualitative changes are ultimately resolvable into rarefaction and condensation, which involve change of place. *Gen. et Corr.* i, 6, 322, b, 21 sqq. c. 9, 327, a, 1, cf. p. 386.

<sup>5</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i, 3, among other arguments, shows that matter would in the end be all used up, if destruction were to



being of some sort, and is resolved into being again.<sup>1</sup> It is only a particular object, as such, that begins and ends its existence. Its beginning is the end, and its end the beginning, of something else.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, in so far as generation and destruction are different from change, this difference only affects the individual object. The individual changes when it survives as a whole, although its qualities alter, but it is generated or destroyed when it, as a whole, begins or ceases to exist.<sup>3</sup> If on the contrary we regard the universe and not the individual, then generation and destruction coincide partly with composition and division, partly with the transmutation of materials.<sup>4</sup> Now both of these processes are occasioned by movement in space.<sup>5</sup> Everything that comes into being has its cause; all 'becoming' implies a 'being' by which it is

mean actual annihilation (318, a, 13).

<sup>1</sup> *Phys.* viii. 7, 261, a, 3: δόξειέ γ' ἂν ἡ γένεσις εἶναι πρώτη τῶν κινήσεων διὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα πρῶτον. τὸ δ' ἐφ' ἑνὸς μὲν ὁπουοῦν τῶν γινομένων οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἀναγκαῖον πρότερόν τι κινεῖσθαι τῶν γινομένων ὃν αὐτὸ καὶ μὴ γινόμενον, καὶ τοῦτου ἕτερον πρότερον. Cf. p. 381-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 3, 318, a, 23: διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦδε φθορὰν ἄλλου εἶναι γένεσιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦδε γένεσιν ἄλλου εἶναι φθορὰν ἡπαιστον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν μεταβολήν. *Ibid.* 319, a, 20, ii. 10, 336, b, 24. Cf. p. 387.

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. et Corr.* i. 2, 317, a, 20: ἔστι γὰρ γένεσις ἀπλὴ καὶ φθορὰ οὐ συγκρίσει καὶ διακρίσει, ἀλλ' ὅταν μεταβάλλῃ ἐκ τοῦδε εἰς τὸδε ὄλον. Ἀλλοίωσις is produced by change

in the *πάθη*, birth and destruction by change in the *ὑποκείμενον*, whether in respect of its form (*λόγος*) or its matter; c. 4, 319, b, 10: ἀλλοίωσις μὲν ἐστίν, ὅταν ὑπομένουτος τοῦ ὑποκειμένου, αἰσθητοῦ ὄντος, μεταβάλλῃ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πάθεσιν . . . ὅταν δ' ὄλον μεταβάλλῃ μὴ ὑπομένουτος αἰσθητοῦ τινος ὡς ὑποκειμένου τοῦ αὐτοῦ . . . γένεσις ἦδὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον, τοῦ δὲ φθορὰ.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Meteor.* iv. 1, 378, b, 31 sqq., where he argues that generation is effected by definite materials becoming transmuted and determined in certain ways by the agency of efficient forces; destruction, on the other hand, by the conquest of the passive matter over the determining form.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Phys.* viii. 7, 260, b, 8:

produced. Since this, as we saw in the case of alteration, cannot operate without movement in space, such movement must precede all generation.<sup>1</sup> Again, if movement in space precedes generation, it must of necessity precede growth, change, decrease, and destruction; since these processes can only be carried on in that which has previously been generated.<sup>2</sup> Therefore this species of motion is the first in the order of causality, as well as in the order of time and in the logical order also.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding what has just been said, Aristotle is far from explaining natural phenomena by the merely mechanical principle of motion in space, as the Atomists had done. Even purely physical occurrences cannot, in his opinion, be satisfactorily accounted for by this method, seeing that many of them are only to be conceived as modes of qualitative alteration, or the transmutation of materials.<sup>4</sup> Physics do not by any means exhaust the conception of Nature. Final Causes

πάντων τῶν παθημάτων ἀρχὴ πύκνωσις καὶ μάνωσις . . . πύκνωσις δὲ καὶ μάνωσις σύγκρισις καὶ διάκρισις, καθ' ἧς γένεσις καὶ φθορὰ λέγεται τῶν οὐσιῶν. συγκρινόμενα δὲ καὶ διακρινόμενα ἀνάγκη κατὰ τὸπον μεταβάλλειν.

<sup>1</sup> *Phys. ibid.* 261, a, 1 sqq. *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 10 *init.*

<sup>2</sup> *Phys. ibid.* b, 7. It is here further pointed out in proof of the priority of 'movement in space,' that, while it is presupposed by the others, it does not presuppose them. Without the movement of the heavens, neither generation nor destruction, neither growth nor material change, could take place. Movement itself, on the other hand, is indepen-

dent of these conceptions, and none of them are applicable to the heavens (260, b, 19 sqq. *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 10 *init.*). So also movement in space is the only one of these conceptions which has to do with the eternal, and is of infinite duration (260, b, 29, 261, a, 27 sqq.). Aristotle also argues that because it is the last in time in respect to individual existences, it must be the first in nature (260, b, 30, 261, a, 13); and he holds that it causes the least change in the nature of the thing moved, and is the motion which the self-moving produces in preference to every other (261, a, 20).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 260, b, 15 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 304, n. 3, and p. 306, n. 5.

rise above the material causes which subserve them; and these are not provided for in the philosophy of a Democritus.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, if it be true that 'becoming' is a transition from potentiality to actuality, or a process of development, and that the importance of Aristotle's natural philosophy consists, to a great extent, in having first made this notion of development possible and consciously given it the foremost place, it is clear that Aristotle could not favour opinions which started with an express denial of any 'becoming' or qualitative alteration, and left us nothing but a movement in space of unalterable materials. Therefore qualitative alteration must be added to locomotion, even in the domain of matter, as a second source of natural occurrences: but over against both, Aristotle sets the teleology of nature, which uses as means to its end all that is corporeal and determined by natural necessity.

Next to Motion in Space, and not without direct relation to it, come investigations by which Aristotle further illustrates the idea of motion in his *Physics*: and these include discussions upon the Infinite, Space, Time, the Unity and Continuity of Motion,<sup>2</sup> &c.

The Infinite<sup>3</sup> had played an important part in pre-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 307, n. 4, and cf. p. 359, sq. *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> He describes those conceptions, indeed, generally, iii. 1, 200, b, 15 sqq. c. 4 *init.*, as belonging to the discussion upon motion, and deals with the first three in bks. iii. and iv. before the section upon the kinds of motion; but the way in which he treats them shows that he is thinking chiefly of locomotion.

<sup>3</sup> The discussion of this conception Aristotle introduces in *Phys.* iii. 1, 200, b, 15, with the words: δοκεῖ δ' ἡ κίνησις εἶναι τῶν συνεχῶν, τὸ δ' ἄπειρον ἐμφαίνεται πρῶτον ἐν τῷ συνεχεῖ; c. 4 *init.* he remarks that natural science deals with masses, motion, and time, each of which is either finite or infinite. On what follows see ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 186.

the natural place of some other body; and if all bodies in this one world have their place, there can be no body outside it, and consequently no space, since space is only that in which a body is or can be.<sup>1</sup> The same conclusion is arrived at also from another side. Several worlds would presuppose several first causes of motion, which would be specifically similar, and consequently only different in their matter. But the *primum movens* has no matter: it is single and complete in itself. It follows that the world which derives its continuous and eternal motion from the first cause must be so too.<sup>2</sup> If, however, we are told that the concept of the world, like all concepts, must manifest itself in several individuals, Aristotle bids us answer that this argument would be only conclusive if there were an extra-mundane matter in which this concept could incorporate itself, but since our world embraces the whole of matter, it is of necessity single in its kind, although we ought always to distinguish between its concept and the phenomenal manifestation of the same which is present to our senses.<sup>3</sup> If there are not several worlds now in existence, no more can there be such in the future, or have been at any past period. This world of ours is one, and single, and complete.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Caelo*, i. 8, c. 9, 278, b, 21 sqq. 279, a, 11.

<sup>2</sup> This metaphysical proof, held in prospect *De Caelo*, i. 8, 277, b, 9, is given *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1074, a, 31 sqq.; cf. also p. 388 sq., and on matter as the source of multiplicity, p. 368 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *De Caelo*, i. 9; cf. p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 279, a, 9; ὥστ' οὔτε νῦν

εἰς πλείους οὐρανοὶ οὐτ' ἐγένοντο οὐτ' ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι πλείους· ἀλλ' εἰς καὶ μόνος καὶ τέλειος οὗτος οὐρανός ἐστιν. *Ibid.* i. 1 fin.: particular bodies are infinite in number; τὸ δὲ πᾶν οὐ ταῦτα μόρια τέλειον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ καθάπερ τοῦνομα σημαίνει, πάντη, καὶ μὴ τῇ μὲν τῇ δ' οὐ.

Furthermore, the shape of the universe is determined by the nature of the five simple bodies. Since circular motion is proper to one of them, and rectilinear motion to the rest, we obtain in the first place the distinction, touched upon above, between the two chief regions of the world—that in which circular motion rules, and that in which the opposite movements up and down hold sway : i.e. that which is full of æther, and that which contains the four elements. In both of them the materials lie in spherical layers one above the other. For since similar materials uniformly strive to reach their natural localities, which in turn are determined by their distance from the centre of the world, it follows that the materials of each sort are conglobated in spheres which are at all points equidistant from the centre. In the middle of the whole lies the earth—a solid sphere,<sup>1</sup> but in extent a relatively small portion of the world.<sup>2</sup> Its fixture in this locality proceeds partly

<sup>1</sup> Besides the argument quoted in the text, Aristotle proves the rotundity of the earth (*De Cælo*, ii. 14, 297, a, 6 sqq.) from the form of its shadow on the moon during an eclipse, from the different stars visible in the north and the south, and the fact (already touched on 296, b, 18) that falling bodies do not move in parallel lines but only at similar angles towards the earth. With regard to the last, there is room for doubt whether it had been ascertained by accurate observation and experiment, or whether it was not an inference from the theory that all bodies which have weight gravitate towards the centre.

<sup>2</sup> In proof of this statement Aristotle, *Meteor.* i. 3, 339, b, 6, 340, a, 6, refers generally to the *ἀστρολογικὰ θεωρήματα*, *De Cælo*; as above. 297, b, 30 sqq., he adduces the fact that when we move even a short distance north or south, some of the stars visible over the horizon seem to change their positions. He remarks here that mathematicians reckon the circumference of the earth at 400,000 stadia (50,000 miles: about double, therefore, the true measurement), and that as compared with the size of the celestial bodies this is a comparatively small figure. The hypothesis (so important in later times for Columbus's discovery)



from the nature of its material,<sup>1</sup> and partly from its position in the universe: <sup>2</sup> observation, moreover, assures us of the fact.<sup>3</sup> The hollows on the surface of the earth are filled with water, the upper surface of which is spherical.<sup>4</sup> Around the water and the earth are hollow spheres—first of air, then of fire. Aristotle, however, not unfrequently identifies the two last, remarking that what we call air is composed partly of moist and partly of dry vapour, the latter produced from earth, the former from water and the moisture of the earth: the drier kinds mount upwards, the more humid, from their

that the Indian and Atlantic Oceans are all one sea, he further thinks worthy of respect. *De An.* iii. 3, 428, b, 3, *Meteor.* i. 8, 345, b, 2, he tells us that the sun is larger than the earth.

<sup>1</sup> *De Caelo*, ii. 14, where Aristotle opposes the view that the earth moves, both in the form in which it was held by Philolaus (*ZELL. Ph. d. Gr.* i. 388), and in the form given to it by Hicetas, Ecphantus, Heraclides (*ibid.* i. 459, ii. 1, 847 sq.), and attributed also to Plato (*ibid.* ii. 1, 682, 2). His chief reason is (296, a, 27, b, 6, 25) that circular motion is contrary to the elemental nature of the earth, in virtue of which its proper motion is rectilinear and toward the centre. For the same reason all other motions must be denied of it. For since its natural motion is toward the centre, and all bodies rest when they arrive at the place toward which they naturally gravitate, motion away from the centre cannot belong to any part of it and the whole must be at rest.

<sup>2</sup> The rotation of the world

presupposes a fixed centre, which Aristotle conceives of as corporeal; see p. 480, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, heavy bodies when thrown upwards in a straight line return to their starting-point (*ibid.* 296, b, 25 sqq.). Moreover, astronomical phenomena find a satisfactory explanation on the hypothesis that the earth rests (297, a, 2), while on the opposite hypothesis irregularities must result; for instance, the stars could not always rise and set at the same points (296, a, 34 sqq.). The 'motion' referred to in *Anal. Post.* ii. 1, 89, b, 30, is the earthquake.

<sup>4</sup> The proof of this, *De Caelo*, ii. 4, 287, b, 1 sqq., is as follows: as water always accumulates in the deepest parts, and the nearer the centre the deeper any part is, water must continue to flow towards the centre until all the deep places are filled up, *i.e.* until its surface is at all points equidistant from the centre. The proper place for water is the space occupied by the sea, *Meteor.* ii. 2, 355, a, 35, b, 15, 356, a, 33.

greater gravity, sink downward; so the former fill the upper, the latter the lower, region of the atmosphere.<sup>1</sup>

The spherical form of the lower world involves that of the celestial region which surrounds the former and touches it at all points.<sup>2</sup> But considered in themselves, the heavens could scarcely be supposed to have another shape,<sup>3</sup> since the sphere is the first and most perfect figure, and therefore the one appropriate to the first body. Moreover, it is only this figure which can revolve within the space which it encloses,<sup>4</sup> and external to the heavens there is no space. Lastly, the motion of the heavens; being the measure of all movement, must be the most rapid; but the most rapid is that which has the shortest journey, and a circle is the shortest road from the same point to the same point.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Meteor.* i. 3, 340, b, 19 sqq. 341, a, 2, c. 4, 341, b, 6-22; cf. i. 7, 344, b, 8, c. 8, 345, b, 32; ii. 2, 354, b, 4 sqq.; *De Cælo*, ii. 4, 287, a, 30; on the difference between dry and moist vapours (*ἀναθυμίασις*, or *καπνὸς* and *ἀτμός*), v. also *Meteor.* ii. 4, 359, b, 28, 360, a, 31, iii. 6. 378, a, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *De Cælo*, ii. 4, 287, a, 30 sqq. As there can be no space which is void (see pp. 432 sq.), it follows that the celestial and the fiery spheres are at all points in contact with one another.

<sup>3</sup> For what follows see *De Cælo*, ii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 287, a, 11. This statement is certainly strange, for as ALEX. *apud* SIMPL. *in loco*, *Schol.* 493, b, 22, observed at an early date, a whole series of *σφαῖραι* share this attribute  
 ie sphere, viz. all those

which are described by the spinning of a smooth body, and of which, therefore, each section which cuts the axis at right angles forms a circle whose centre is on the line of the axis. Simplicius gets out of the difficulty by remarking that, while in the case of other shapes there is only one axis that will serve the purpose, in a sphere you may take any you please; an explanation with which we may rest content on so trifling a point.

<sup>5</sup> Or as SIMPLICIUS, *in loco*, explains it: of all lines which return to the point from which they started, and thus inclose a space, the circle is the shortest; just as of all surfaces of equal extent that which is circular, of all bodies of equal bulk that which is globular, has the smallest circumference. Even with this

The finer and more uniform its matter is, the more perfectly spherical will be the shape of the celestial world: <sup>1</sup> as, indeed, in the most perfect body matter must be perfectly adapted to its form, and as the arguments by which the spherical shape of heaven is proved <sup>2</sup> require. Still we cannot regard the matter of the heavens as uniformly homogeneous. Nature, in Aristotle's opinion, reconciles all opposites by a gradual process, and the purity of the æther, which composes heaven, diminishes as it approaches the terrestrial atmosphere. <sup>3</sup>

In proceeding to investigate the disposition of the heavens, Aristotle is guided by observation. <sup>4</sup> All the

explanation the argument is a lame one. It is obvious that Aristotle accepts the globular form of the earth on the direct evidence of the senses, and merely adds these other proofs as supplementary evidence.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 287, b, 14: ὅτι μὲν οὖν σφαιροειδὴς ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος δῆλον ἐκ τούτων, καὶ ὅτι κατ' ἀκρίβειαν ἐντορνος οὕτως ὥστε μὴθὲν μήτε χειρόκμητοῦ ἔχειν παραπλησίως μήτ' ἄλλο μὴθὲν τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς φαινομένων, no terrestrial body being so completely adapted for an exactly symmetrical form.

<sup>2</sup> According to the above argument, the smallest elevation or depression in the outer surface of the celestial globe would presuppose a void space outside of it.

<sup>3</sup> *Meteor.* i. 3, 340, b, 6: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνω καὶ μέχρι σελήνης ἕτερον εἶναι σῶμά φαμεν πυρὸς τε καὶ αἰέρος, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ γε τὸ μὲν καθαρώτερον εἶναι τὸ δ' ἥττον

εἰλικρινές, &c. KAMPE is wrong in supposing that it is the air as the matter of the fiery region and not the æther that is here spoken of. The ἄνω μέχρι σελήνης does not mean the region below the moon, but the upper regions reaching down as far as the moon, and lying between it and the starry heavens. Moreover, σῶμα ἕτερον αἰέρος cannot possibly mean the air, but, as l. 10 immediately says, the πρῶτον στοιχεῖον κύκλῳ φερόμενον or the æther. We must not, however, conceive of a mixture of elementary substances which cannot extend to the region of circular motion, but merely of differences in the degree of density.

<sup>4</sup> According to Eudemus (in *SIMPL. De Cælo, Schol. in Arist.* 498, a, 45) Plato had thus stated the problem of astronomy: τίνων ὑποθεμισῶν δμαλῶν καὶ τεταγμένων κινήσεων διασωθῇ τὰ περὶ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν πλανωμένων φαινόμενα,



heavenly bodies seem daily to move from east to west, but seven of them<sup>1</sup> move besides in longer periods of

and from this time forth Greek astronomy held to the view that its function consisted in discovering hypotheses which would explain the phenomena as satisfactorily as (on their somewhat hardy assumption) the motion of the stars is explained by the theory of uniform motions. The highest criterion of the truth of a theory is τὸ σώζεσθαι τὰ φαινόμενα. To take only a few instances: cf. the quotations from and about Heraclides, in ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 881, 1, and in BÖCKH, *D. kosm. Syst. d. Platon*, 134 sqq.; Aristotle's statements about Callippus, *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1073, b, 35: τῷ δ' ἡλίου καὶ τῷ σελήνης δύο φέτο ἐτι προσθέτας εἶναι σφαῖρας, τὰ φαινόμενα εἰ μέλλει τις ἀποδώσειν; the statements and quotations from Geminus, in SIMPL. *Phys.* 64, b, and what the latter says of the old astronomers partly following Eudemus and Sosithe- genes, *De Caelo, Schol. in Arist.* 472, a, 42, 498, a, 43, 499, a, 7, 500, a, 25, 501, b, 28, 502, b, 5 sqq. 503, a, 23, 504, b, 32 sqq. Aristotle adopts the same criterion. He asserts only those positions which are warranted by the facts; where the latter are inadequately known, or do not speak with sufficient plainness, he makes no pretence of absolute certainty, but is content with probability. Thus *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1073, b, 38, 1074, a, 14, after declaring (1073, a, 11) that the investigation is not yet concluded, he says: ἀναγκαῖον δὲ εἰ μέλλουσι συντεθεῖσθαι πᾶσαι τὰ

φαινόμενα ἀποδώσειν, καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πλανωμένων ἐτέρας σφαῖρας μιᾷ ἐλάττονας εἶναι, &c. . . . τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν σφαιρῶν ἔστω τοσοῦτον . . . τὸ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἀφείσθω τοῖς ἰσχυροτέροις λέγειν. *De Caelo*, ii. 12, 292, a, 14: περὶ δὴ τούτων ζητεῖν μὲν καλῶς ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πλείον συνέσειν, καίτερ μικρὰς ἔχοντας ἀφορμάς, &c.; c. 5, 287, b, 28: the desire to explain everything is a mark either of great zeal or great folly. The extent, however, to which the attempt is open to blame depends upon the motive which inspires it, and the strength of a man's conviction of the truth of his views: πότερον ἀνθρωπίνως ἢ καρτερικώτερον, ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἀκριβεστέραις ἀνάγκαις ὅταν τις ἐπιτύχῃ, τότε χάριν ἔχειν δεῖ τοῖς εὐρίσκουσι, νῦν δὲ τὸ φαινόμενον βητέον. Cf. also *Part. An.* i. 5, 644, b, 31, where it is said that the study of the heavens possesses an infinite charm, εἰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐφαπτόμεθα: and on the necessity of observation, cf. *ibid.* c. 1, 639, b, 7: πότερον, καθάπερ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν δεικνύουσιν, οὕτω δεῖ καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν τὰ φαινόμενα πρῶτον τὰ περὶ τὰ ζῷα θεωρήσαντα καὶ τὰ μέρη τὰ περὶ ἕκαστον, ἐπειθ' οὕτω λέγειν τὸ διὰ τί καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἢ ἄλλως πως. (That Aristotle would decide for the former method is obvious.) Aristotle himself was a most careful observer of known facts; see p. 46, n. 1, *supra*.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle speaks, of course, only of the stars known to the ancients, and visible to the naked eye.

very unequal lengths in the opposite direction, i.e. from west to east, around the earth. That these bodies could move freely in space was a thought beyond the reach of ancient astronomers. They fancied each star fixed in its sphere, and therefore were obliged to imagine at least as many celestial spheres as they saw stars differing in their movements and periods.<sup>1</sup> Aristotle does not get beyond this view. The stars, he says,<sup>2</sup> as well as the whole heaven, appear to move; and since the earth is fixed, this phenomenon must be explained by a real movement of the heaven or the stars, or of both. It is not conceivable that both should

<sup>1</sup> Many of the older philosophers held that the stars were carried round by the air or the rotation of the world. Besides Xenophanes and Heraclitus, who held that the stars were nebulous masses, this view was shared by Anaxagoras, Democritus, and perhaps even Anaximenes; Empedocles held that it was true of the planets but not of the fixed stars, which were set immovably in the arch of heaven (see ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 226 sq. 500, 622, 715, 799, 898, 3). Anaximander seems to have been the first to start the theory of spheres (*ibid.* 206 sq.) which was subsequently adopted by the Pythagoreans (*ibid.* 384, 1, 449) and by Parmenides (*ibid.* 528). Plato adopted it from the Pythagoreans (*ibid.* i. 685), and was followed by Eudoxus and Callippus, the leading astronomers of Aristotle's time (see p. 497 sq., *infra*). It seemed forced upon them by the difficulty they had in conceiving of a free motion of the stars, the idea of universal gravitation not

yet having dawned upon them. It seemed, moreover, to be demanded by the nature of the stellar motions themselves, which, if they were one and the same every day round the earth, were more naturally explained by a single motion of the whole sphere of the fixed stars than by a number of separate motions. A like hypothesis seemed to afford the best explanation of the movements of the planets, including the sun and moon; their proper motion being the result of the rotation of their spheres, which takes place, however, in a direction opposite to that of the fixed stars, while their daily course was to be explained on the ground that the rotation of the stellar regions included them also.

<sup>2</sup> *De Caelo*, ii. 8. This argument is stated with some fullness, because it shows the important fact that Aristotle already presupposes the existence of *different* stellar spheres.

move independently, for in this case how could we explain the exact correspondence between the rate at which the stars move and that of their spheres? We cannot refer an invariably regular phenomenon to an accidental coincidence. The same may be said about the hypothesis that the stars move while their spheres are fixed. In this case also the rate of the astral movement would have to correspond to the size of their circle, although there is no real connection between the two. Hence we are driven to suppose that the spheres move, but the stars are fixed and carried round by them.<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis satisfactorily explains why, among concentric circles, the larger move at a more rapid rate. It is further seen to be necessary because the stars, from their spherical shape,<sup>2</sup> in order to get into motion, must either roll or spin. Mere rolling, however, would not carry them on their way;<sup>3</sup> and the fact that the moon always shows us the same side proves that they do not spin. Moreover, their shape is the least adapted to progressive movement, since they are devoid of locomotive organs,<sup>4</sup> obviously because nature has not intended them for any such movement.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Τοὺς μὲν κύκλους κινεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ ἄστρα ἡμερεῖν [*i.e.* they have no motion of their own within their own spheres, but move with them] καὶ ἐνδεδεμένα τοῖς κύκλοις φέρεσθαι, 289, b, 32.

<sup>2</sup> That this is their form is demonstrated, *ibid.* c. 11, both by the shape of the moon in its different phases, and by the teleological argument that since nature does nothing in vain she must have given the stars, which require no

organs of locomotion, the corresponding shape, viz. rotundity.

<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Aristotle adds, it is only the sun which appears to roll at its rising and setting: and this, like the twinkling light of the fixed stars, is merely an optical delusion.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 681, 1.

<sup>5</sup> In his refutation of the doctrine of the harmony of the sphere which we

must be as many 'souls,' to preside over their motions, as there are spheres. The fabric of the heavens consists, therefore, of a system of concentric hollow balls or spheres, so placed within each other as to leave no empty interspace.<sup>1</sup> The centre of this system is called the bottom, the circumference the top; and so the outer spheres are uppermost, the inner are nethermost, and each locality in space is higher or lower according as it has a greater or less distance from the centre.<sup>2</sup> It is only indirectly, and relatively to the motion of the

μὲν ἔχοντων ἀφ' ὧν δὲ πάντα διακινεῖται· δεῖ δ' αἰ μετεχόντων ὑπαλαμβάνειν πράξεως καὶ ζωῆς. It is true that αὐτῶν seems to refer to the stars, not to their spheres, and that we are at liberty to picture with KAMPE (*Erkenntnisthe. d. Arist.* 39 sq.) each individual star as animated by a spirit; but the passage does not compel us to do so, for if the spheres are animate the stars which are part of them must share their life and action. Elsewhere, however, *Metaph.* xii. 8 (see p. 501 sq. *infra*, and cf. previous note), he expressly says that there cannot be more eternal unmoved beings than there are spheres, and this is only what we should have expected from him, since it is only from the movement of the stars that he infers, in the way indicated in the preceding note, the existence of such beings. Moreover, it is only the spheres, and not the stars, which are said by him to be moved. It is only these, then, that have 'souls' of their own, or, to speak more strictly, it is only these which

are united severally to spiritual beings which stand in the same relation to them as the human soul does to the body which it moves without being itself moved (see *infra*, vol. ii, *init.*). *De Celo*, ii. 2, 285, a, 29: δ' δ' αὖ οὐρανὸς ἐμψυχὸς καὶ ἔχει κινήσεως ἀρχήν. So 284, b, 32; cf. *Part. An.* i. 1, 641, b, 15 sqq. As, however, the mover of the highest sphere lies outside the world and is unmoved, Plato's conception of the 'world-soul' (which, indeed, Aristotle expressly rejects, see p. 459, n. 5) is as inapplicable to it in its relation to its sphere as it is to the other spherical spirits in their relation to theirs.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle denies that there is any 'void' (see p. 433, sq. *supra*), and accordingly conceives not only of the astral spheres but of all the others, even the lowest, as in immediate contact with one another. *Meteor.* i. 3, 340, b, 10 sqq. 341, a, 2 sqq.; *De Celo*, ii. 4, 287, a, 5 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 473 and 478, *supra*; *Phys.* iii. 5, 205, b, 30 sqq.; *De Celo*, i. 6 *init.* ii. 4, 287, a, 8, and elsewhere.

spheres, that the terms above and beneath are applied to opposite points in the circumference, and consequently that we come to speak of right and left, front and back, in the world. In this case, reckoning from the sphere of the fixed stars, we call the southern half of the globe the upper, reckoning from the planetary sphere, the northern.<sup>1</sup> Each sphere has its own peculiar

<sup>1</sup> See *De Caelo*, ii. 2 (cf. *Phys.* passage just referred to) and the lucid explanation in БѢСНН, *D. kosm. Syst. d. Platon*, p. 112 sqq. The differences here spoken of apply only to motion, and therefore properly only to that which is living and self-moved; to such the upper is (285, a, 23) τὸ ὄθεν ἡ κίνησις, the right hand τὸ ἀφ' οὗ, the front τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἡ κίνησις. (Cf. *Ingr. An.* c. 4, 705, b, 13 sqq.) If we apply this to the world, that is the right side of the πῶτος οὐρανοῦ from which its motion proceeds—in other words, the east. This motion is conceived of (285, b, 19), as it was by Plato (see ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 684, 1), as proceeding in a circle towards the right, as when in a circle of men anything (as, for instance, the cup or the talk at table, PLATO, *Symp.* 177, D, 214, B, C, 222, E, 223, C) is passed along by each to his neighbour on the right. The πῶτος οὐρανοῦ is therefore represented (285, a, 31 sqq.) as standing inside the circle of the heavens in the line of its axis, touching one of the poles with its head, the other with its feet, and as giving the ball at some point upon its equator the push with its right hand which sets it spinning. The natural direction of such

motion will be that which carries the point in the periphery which has received the push past one who stands in the line of the axis in front of him: in other words, that which proceeds from the right in a forward direction and thence to the left. This, however, will be the case with the motion of the sphere of the fixed stars only if the head of one standing inside of it be upon the south pole; with that of the spheres of the planets which move from west to east, on the other hand, only on the opposite supposition. According to Aristotle, therefore, our antipodes are in the upper hemisphere, which he also calls (obviously from a different point of view than that just indicated) the right side of the world; we in the lower hemisphere and on the left side. On the other hand, reckoning from the courses of the planets, ours is the upper and right-hand, theirs the lower and left-hand, side. He points out, indeed, that we cannot properly speak of a right and a left at all in connection with the world as a whole (284, b, 6-18: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ φασιν εἶναι τι δεξιὸν καὶ ἀριστερὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . εἴπερ δεῖ προσάπτειν τῷ τοῦ παντὸς σώματι ταύτας τὰς ἀρχάς

motion, communicated by the presiding incorporeal being: but in all cases the motion is uniform, without beginning or ending, round an axis; but the direction and the rapidity of this rotation vary in the several spheres. At the same time the spheres are connected with each other in such a way that the inner, or lower, are carried round by the outer, just as if the axis of each sphere were inserted at its poles into the next above.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the problem arises how we are, under the

... καὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ αἰσθητῷ προσ-  
δένειν τι τῶν τοιαύτων). Nevertheless, *Phys.* iii. 5, 205, b, 33, he says that the distinctions above and below, before and behind, right and left, exist αὐτόματον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ θέσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὄντι; *Ingr. An.* 5, 706, b, 11, he finds it natural that motion should proceed from the upper front and right side, ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ τίμων, τὸ δ' ἄνω τοῦ κάτω καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν τοῦ ὀπίσθεν καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ τιμώτερον (though it might be said with equal truth, ὡς διὰ τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐν τοίοις εἶναι ταῦτα τιμώτερον τῶν ἀντικειμένων μορίων ἑαυτῶν). So in *De Caelo*, iii. 5, to the question why the heavens move from east to west and not in the contrary direction, he gives the answer that since nature orders everything in the most perfect possible way, and forward motion is superior to backward, the heavens have received that motion which, according to the description of right and left in c. 2, is to be regarded as a forward one. The allusion, *Meteor.* ii. 5, 362, a, 32 sqq., to the north pole as the upper, the south pole as the lower, is an unimportant use of ordinary language.

<sup>1</sup> A similar connection of the inner with the surrounding spheres Plato had conceived of as existing between the spheres of the planets and of the fixed stars, when in *Tim.* 36, c, 39, A (cf. *Ph.* d. *Gr.* i. 683), he represents the axis of the former as inserted in the latter, and accordingly attributes to the planets a spiral motion compounded of the motions of both circles. One would suppose from *ARIST.* *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1073, b, 18, 25, *SIMPL. De Caelo*, *Schol. in Arist.* 498, b, 36, that Eudoxus and Callippus also conceived of the stars collectively as carried round by the sphere of the fixed stars, and the planets collectively by a sphere moving in the line of the ecliptic. It is clear, however, from the further explanations of Simplicius and from Aristotle's enumeration of the spheres (which differed from that of Callippus only in the addition of the σφαῖραι ἀνεκίττουςαι) that this was not the case. Plato's proof that the spheres of the planets are carried round by the sphere of the fixed stars appeared to them fantastic. Only those spheres they conceived of as connected with one another which belonged



specified circumstances, to determine both the number of the spheres and also the direction and rapidity of their rotation, so as to explain the motions of the stars revealed to us by observation.<sup>1</sup>

For this purpose Eudoxus, the famous astronomer of Cnidos, who may be regarded as the first founder of a complete theory of the spheres based upon accurate observation,<sup>2</sup> sketched out a system of twenty-seven spheres, twenty-six of which belong to the planets. Considering the simple nature of its motion, he thought one sphere enough for the heaven of the fixed stars, and in this sphere the whole assemblage of the stars was fastened. On the other hand, he assigned four spheres to each of the five upper planets, and three apiece to the sun and moon, which, in agreement with Plato, he placed lowest in the planetary scale. The first sphere of each planet was intended to explain its daily revolution in concert with the heaven of the fixed stars, since it accomplished every day a rotation from east to

to the same planet. Aristotle, on the contrary, extended Plato's doctrine to the relation of all the upper spheres to those that are contained within them, as is clear from his hypothesis of retrogressive spheres (see *infra*). (Cf. also *De Cælo*, ii. 12, 293, a, 5: πολλὰ σώματα κινούσιν αἱ πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας καὶ τῆς ἐν ἡστρον ἐχούσης· ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ σφαῖραις ἡ τελευταία σφαῖρα ἐνδεδεμένη φέρεται. *Ibid.* c. 10.) He justifies this view on the ground that the upper spheres stand to the lower as the form to the matter, *De Cælo*, iv. 3, 4, 310, b, 14, 312, a, 12; v. *supra*, p. 325, n. 2); and that, as all spheres are in close and

immediate contact with one another (see p. 496, n. 1, *supra*), each can communicate its motion to the one next below it. This relation need not apply with equal strictness to the elementary spheres as to the heavenly, seeing that they do not, like the latter, consist of a body whose nature it is to move in a circle. Aristotle, however, supposes in *Meteor.* i. 3, 341, a, 1, ii. 4, 361, a, 30 sqq. that the winds circle round the earth, being carried round by the rotation of the world.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 490, n. 4, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Eudemus and Sosigenes in *Simpl. De Cælo, Schol. in Ar.* 498, a, 45, b, 47, cf. *supra*, p. 451, n. 2,

One circle of fixed stars, or the 'first heaven,' as Aristotle called it, is the most perfect portion of this celestial world. Stationed next to Deity, the best and most perfect object, it accomplishes its purpose by a single motion. In its single sphere it carries an innumerable multitude of heavenly bodies.<sup>1</sup> Its motion is pure, unalterable, uniform rotation,<sup>2</sup> starting from the better side and following the better direction, from right to right.<sup>3</sup> Moving without trouble, it requires no Atlas to support it nor any sail to carry it round by

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<sup>2</sup> See p. 494, n. 1, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 497, n. 1, *supra*.



that his own doctrine of the connection of the spheres in one coherent whole renders the first sphere assigned by Eudoxus and Callippus to each planet superfluous.<sup>1</sup> At the same time he judges an important rectification of the theory to be needful, on account of this very coherence of the heavenly system. For if each sphere carries round in its course all those which are contained in it, the motions of the lower planets must be greatly disturbed by those of their superiors, and the whole result of the assumed spherul system would be altered unless precautions be taken to neutralise the communication of movement from the spheres of one planet to those of another. To meet this difficulty Aristotle, accordingly, inserts some other spheres between the lowest of each planet and the highest of that which comes next beneath, meaning them to obviate the action of the first upon the second. But the premises of the whole theory require that these fresh spheres should move at the same rate as those which they are destined to neutralise, but in an exactly opposite direction;<sup>2</sup> and again that there should be as many

<sup>1</sup> For, as Simplicius also remarks, 503, a, 38 sqq. (where, however, l. 41, we must read *συν-ἀποκαθίστασαν*), a special sphere is not required to explain the daily rotation of the planets from east to west, since, in consequence of this connection the motion of the spheres of the fixed stars communicates itself to all that are contained in it.

<sup>2</sup> For if two concentric spheres, whose axes lie in the same line, and of which the inner

one is fixed to the outer by the poles of its axis, spin round the common axis with relatively equal velocities in the opposite directions, each point of the inner sphere is at each moment precisely in the position in which it would be if both spheres were at rest. The two motions have completely neutralised one another in their effect upon the inner sphere and all that depends upon it, as Sosigenes, in *SIMPL. ibid.* 500, b, 39, truly explains.

retrogressive or retarding spheres<sup>1</sup> as the movements they are used to obviate. In other words, the collective motions peculiar to each planet have to be considered: none of these may be communicated to another planet, whereas the daily revolution from east to west excited in each planet by its first sphere does not require to be neutralised.<sup>2</sup> It is only the moon which requires no retrogressive sphere beneath the one which carries her, since there is no planet below the moon that she could interrupt. Aristotle, consequently, adds twenty-two retrogressive spheres to the thirty-three of Callippus, three apiece for Saturn and Jupiter, four apiece for

<sup>1</sup> Σφαῖραι ἀνελίσσονται (sup-  
ply τὰς τῶν ὑποκάτω φερομένων ἀσ-  
τρων σφαῖρας, not as Sosigenes  
does, SIMPL. *ib.* 502, a, 43, τὰς τῶν  
ὑποκάτω κινήσεις, 1074, a, 2-12),  
i.e. 'spheres which serve to turn  
those beneath them backwards,'  
to communicate to them a motion  
opposite to that of the next  
above them, and in this way to  
keep them in the same position  
relatively to the fixed stars as  
they would have held had the  
planetary spheres above them  
produced no effect upon them at  
all ("τὰς ἀνελίσσοντας καὶ εἰς τὸ  
αὐτὸ ἀποκαθιστάσας τῇ θέσει τὴν  
πρώτην σφαῖραν διὰ τοῦ ὑποκάτω  
τεταγμένου ἀστρου"); *Metaph.*  
*ibid.* 1074, a, 1 sqq. Theophrastus  
called these spheres ἀναναφέρου-  
σαι, because they carry those  
that are beneath them back,  
and ἀναστροί, because not only  
some, but all of them are star-  
less (SIMPL. *ibid.* 498, b, 41,  
where, however, the retrogres-  
sive spheres appear to be con-  
founded with the starless spheres

of individual constellations); cf.  
*ibid.* 502, a, 40.

<sup>2</sup> This supposition is as  
erroneous as the view, discussed  
p. 501, *supra*, that the theory of a  
special sphere for each of the  
planets with daily rotation from  
east to west is compatible with  
Aristotle's system of the spheres.  
For since, according to his view,  
the sphere of the fixed stars in  
its revolution carries round with  
it all that is contained in it, each  
further sphere which revolved in  
the same direction and at the  
same velocity would only add one  
more to the number of the daily  
rotations of the spheres contained  
in it, unless this result were ob-  
viated by a special arrangement  
of retrogressive spheres. Ari-  
stotle has obviously overlooked  
this. If he had remarked it, he  
would not have neutralised the  
action of the primeval spheres  
of each planet which run parallel  
with the heaven of fixed stars,  
but would have abolished them  
altogether.

Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the sun; giving in all fifty-five or, if we add in the sphere of fixed stars, fifty-six spheres, together with as many eternal incorporeal unmoved entities from whom the motions of the spheres proceed.<sup>1</sup> The progress of observation could not fail to show that the theory of spheres, even as thus conceived, was inadequate to explain the phenomena: accordingly, as early as the middle of the third century before Christ, Apollonius of Perga advanced his theory of 'epicycles' triumphantly against it.<sup>2</sup> Yet even the antagonists of Aristotle's system admitted that his theory of retrogressive spheres was an ingenious attempt to rectify and supplement the hypothesis of Eudoxus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Metaph. ibid.* cf. SIMPL. *ibid.* 500, a, 34 sqq.; KRISCHE, *ibid.* 206 sqq.; IDELER, *ibid.* 82; BONITZ and SCHWEGLER on the passage in the *Metaphysics*. There Aristotle expressly says, l. 17 sqq., that more spheres are not required, for, since every motion exists for the sake of that which is moved, there can be no motion and therefore no sphere in the heavens which is not there for the sake of a star. *εἰ δὲ μηδεμίαν οἶδ' ὅτι εἶναι φορὰν μὴ συντείνουσιν πρὸς ἄστρου φορὰν, ἔτι δὲ πᾶσαν φύσιν καὶ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν ἀπαθῇ καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν τοῦ ἀρίστου τετυχηκυῖαν τέλους εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν, οὐδεμίαν ἂν εἴη παρὰ ταύτας ἑτέρα φύσις* [sc. ἀπαθῆς &c.], ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι τῶν οὐσιῶν. εἴτε γὰρ εἰσιν ἑτεραι κινούμεναι ἂν ὡς τέλος οὔσαι φορᾶς. (Instead of τέλους, however, in l. 20, we must clearly read with Bonitz τέλος; BRENTANO's objection to this emendation, *Psychol. d. Ar.* 344 sq., is

groundless; the traditional reading is obviously meaningless.) Here also we can see that his theory is founded upon observation. In l. 12 he remarks that if we were to leave the sun and the moon out of our reckoning, the number of the (planetary) spheres would be 47; but the difficulty is so obvious that Sosigenes conjectured this to be a slip for 49 (SIMPL. *ibid.* 502, a, 11 sqq.). Krische, with whom Bonitz and seemingly also Schwegler agree, refers the remark to the eight retrogressive spheres under Mercury and the sun; but it is not easy to see how the σφαῖραι ἀνελίκτουσαι belonging to the sun and the moon could have been left out.

<sup>2</sup> Upon which cf. esp. IDELER, *ibid.* 83 sq., LÜBBERT, 'On the Greek Theory of the Moon's Orbit,' *Rhein. Mus.* xii. (1857), 120 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Of the Peripatetic Sosigenes (as to whom, see ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 696, 701) SIMPL. says,

One circle of fixed stars, or the 'first heaven,' as Aristotle called it, is the most perfect portion of this celestial world. Stationed next to Deity, the best and most perfect object, it accomplishes its purpose by a single motion. In its single sphere it carries an innumerable multitude of heavenly bodies.<sup>1</sup> Its motion is pure, unalterable, uniform rotation,<sup>2</sup> starting from the better side and following the better direction, from right to right.<sup>3</sup> Moving without trouble, it requires no Atlas to support it nor any sail to carry it round by

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<sup>2</sup> See p. 494, n. 1, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 497, n. 1, *supra*.



force.<sup>1</sup> Its motion embraces all and generates all motion. Unbegotten and indestructible, affected by no earthly distress, comprehending in itself all time and space, it rejoices in the most complete existence that has been allowed to any bodily thing.<sup>2</sup> Less perfect is the region of the planetary spheres. Instead of one sphere bearing countless heavenly bodies, we here perceive a multiplicity of spheres, several of which are required to bear one star on its course. Their motion proceeds from the left side of the world, and though, considering each sphere by itself, it is a pure and uniform rotation, yet the general result is not so, since the lower spheres are carried round by the upper, and as a consequence motions composite and deviating

<sup>1</sup> See p. 459, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *De Caelo*, ii. 1 *init.*: ἔστιν εἷς καὶ αἰδῖος [ὁ πᾶς οὐρανός: Aristotle, however, has principally in view the πῶτος οὐρανός, which, in i. 9, 278, b, 11, is called by preference simply οὐρανός] ἀρχὴν μὲν καὶ τελευτὴν οὐκ ἔχων τοῦ παντός αἰῶνος, ἔχων δὲ καὶ περιέχων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν ἄπειρον χρόνον . . . διόπερ καλῶς ἔχει συμπεῖθειν ἑαυτὸν τοὺς ἀρχαίους καὶ μάλιστα πατέρας ἡμῶν ἀληθεῖς εἶναι λόγους, ὥς ἐστιν ἀθάνατόν τι καὶ θεῖον τῶν ἐχόντων μὲν κίνησιν ἐχόντων δὲ τοιαύτην ὥστε μὴθὲν εἶναι πέρασ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ταύτην τῶν ἄλλων πέρασ. τό τε γὰρ πέρασ τῶν περιεχόντων ἐστὶ, καὶ αὕτη ἡ κυκλοφορία τέλειος οὐσα περιέχει τὰς ἀτελεῖς καὶ τὰς ἐχούσας πέρασ καὶ παύλαν, αὕτη μὲν οὐδεμίαν οὐτ' ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα οὐτε τελευτὴν, ἀλλ' ἀπαναστος οὐσα τὸν ἄπειρον χρόνον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν μὲν αἰτία τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν δὲ δεχομένη τὴν παύλαν. The

ancients were right when they assigned the heavens, as alone indestructible, to the gods, for it is ἀφθαρτος καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἔτι δ' ἀπαθὴς πάσης θνητῆς δυσχερείας ἐστίν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἄπονός διὰ τὸ μηδεμίᾳ προσδεῖσθαι βιαιᾶς ἀνάγκης, ἣ κατέχει κωλύοντα φέρεσθαι πεφυκότα αὐτὸν ἄλλως· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπίπονόν, ὥσπερ ἂν αἰδιώτερον ᾖ, καὶ διαθέσεως τῆς ἀρίστης ἁμοιον. I. 9, 279, a, 10: εἷς καὶ μόνος καὶ τέλειος οὗτος οὐρανός ἐστιν. The passage which follows (quoted p. 395, n. 6), refers partly to the same subject, even although the description contained in it refers primarily to God and not to the heavens. All that was said of the æther, p. 473 sq., is equally applicable to the πῶτος οὐρανός, which, according to the account p. 490, n. 3, is formed of the purest æther.

from the circle are produced.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the rate of these motions is affected by the relation of the lower to the upper spheres,<sup>2</sup> which in itself is a further proof of their less complete self-sufficiency. Nevertheless, these spheres belong to the most divine part of the visible universe, to that which is removed from mutability and impression from without, and which partakes of perfection.<sup>3</sup> As the æther is superior to the four elements, so the stars without exception occupy a position of superiority to the earth. They form the celestial world, in comparison with which the terrestrial seems but an unimportant and transient portion of the whole.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 494 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *De Cælo*, II. 10: the velocity of the planets (by which, however, Aristotle, as PLATO, *Tim.* 39, A sq., *Rep.* I. 617, A, *Laos.* VII. 822, A sq., here means, not their absolute velocity, but merely the time of their revolutions, and accordingly calls those swifter which take a shorter time; on the other hand, see c. 7, 289, b. 15 sqq., *Metew.* I. 3, 341, a. 21 sqq.) is in inverse ratio to their distance from the earth. The further each is the longer it takes to complete a revolution, inasmuch as the motion of the stellar heavens from east to west has a stronger counteractive influence upon that of the planets from west to east the nearer it is to it. As Aristotle expressly appeals to mathematical proofs for the truth of the latter proposition, we must understand it to mean that of concentric circles or spheres which revolve round their axes in the same time, the outer ones move swifter than the inner,

and that therefore the velocity of their motion (in the present case that of the daily motion round the earth) constantly decreases towards the centre.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 474 and 505, n. 2, *supra*, and *Phys.* II. 4, 196, a. 33: *τὰς αἰθέρας καὶ τὰ θεῶτα τῶν φυσικῶν*. *Metaph.* XIII. 8, 1074, a. 11 (see p. 503, n. 1, *supra*). The stars are therefore called *θεῶτα σώματα*. *Metaph.* *ibid.* I. 30, *De Cælo*, II. 12, 292, b. 32; likewise the heavens, *ibid.* 3, 286, a. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Part. An.* I. I, 641, b. 18: *τὰ γὰρ τεταγμένα καὶ τὰ ἀσφαμένονα πολλὰ μᾶλλον φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἢ περὶ ἡμῶν τὰ δ' ἄλλοι ἄλλως καὶ ὡς ἐτυχεν περὶ τὰ θεῶτα μᾶλλον*. *Metaph.* IV. 5, 1010, a. 28: *ὁ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ τόπος ἐν φθορᾷ καὶ γενέσει διατελεῖ μόνος ὥς ἄλλ' οὗτος οὐδὲν ἢ εἰς τὸν μέρος τοῦ παντός ἐστιν*. By thus dividing the universe into a terrestrial and a celestial part, Aristotle intends to distinguish between the sublunary world, the materials of which are

Aristotle, like Plato, thought the stars were bodies animated by rational spirits, and ascribed to these beings a nature far more godlike than man's.<sup>1</sup> Therefore he attributes a priceless value to the smallest iota of knowledge which we can boast to have acquired about them.<sup>2</sup> In this view we can trace the consequences of a metaphysic which deduced all motion ultimately from incorporeal essences; but it is also possible to recognise in it a reflection of those modes of

supplied by the four elements, and in which birth, death, and qualitative change take place, and the world of the heavenly spheres, which consists of æthereal matter and which, while exhibiting motion in space, admits neither growth nor transformation of any kind. Similarly, *De Cælo*, i. 2, 269, a, 30, b, 14: πέφυκέ τις οὐσία σώματος ἄλλη παρὰ τὰς ἐνταῦθα συστάσεις, θειότερα καὶ προτέρα τούτων πάντων . . . ἔστι τι παρὰ τὰ σώματα τὰ δεῦρο καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἕτερον κεχωρισμένον τοσοῦτον τιμιωτέραν ἔχον τὴν φύσιν ὥσπερ ἀφέστηκε τῶν ἐνταῦθα πλείον; c. 8, 276, a, 28 sqq. b, 3, ii. 12, 292, b, 1, where τῶν ἁστρον and ἐνταῦθα are opposed; *Meteor.* ii. 3, 358, a, 25: τοῦτ' αἰετίνεσθαι κατὰ τινὰ τάξιν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται μετέχειν τὰ ἐνταῦθα τάξεως. In ordinary language ἐνταῦθα and ἐκεῖ indicate respectively the upper and the under world (e.g. SOPH. *Ajap.* 1372; PLATO, *Rep.* i. 330, D, v. 451, B; *Apol.* 40, B, 41, B sq., and elsewhere), in Plato also the sensible and ideal world (*Theat.* 176, A, *Phædr.* 250, A), as also in Aristotle, where he is describing the Platonic

doctrine, *Metaph.* i. 9, 990, b, 34, 991, b, 13, iii. 6, 1002, b, 15, 17, 22, 467.

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. N.* vi. 7, 1141, a, 34: ἀνθρώπου πολὺ θεϊότερα τὴν φύσιν, ὅλον φανερώτατά γε ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκεν. *De Cælo*, i. 2; see preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> *Part. An.* i. 5 *init.*: the beings in the world are either unbegotten and imperishable, or begotten and perishable: συμβέβηκε δὲ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνας τιμῆς οὐσας καὶ θείας ἐλάττους ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν θεωρίας . . . περὶ δὲ τῶν φθαρτῶν φυτῶν τε καὶ ζῴων εὐποροῦμεν μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν γνώσιν διὰ τὸ σύντροφον. ἔχει δ' ἐκάτερα χάριν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐφαπτόμεθα, ὁμοῦ διὰ τὴν τιμιότητα τοῦ γνωρίζειν ἥδιον ἢ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἅπαντα, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων τὸ τυχερὸν καὶ μικρὸν μόνον κατιδεῖν ἥδιον ἔστιν ἢ πολλὰ ἕτερα καὶ μεγάλα δι' ἀκριβείας ἰδεῖν. τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ πλείω γνωρίζειν αὐτῶν λαμβάνει τὴν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑπεροχὴν, ἐπὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ πλησιαίτερα ἡμῶν εἶναι καὶ τῆς φύσεως οικειότερα ἀντικαταλλάττεται τι πρὸς τὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα φιλοσοφίαν. Cf. also *De Cælo*, ii. 12 (*supra*, p. 169, n. 3).

Accordingly a higher order is mirrored in the law of this mutation: for as the heavenly bodies approach the earth and move away from it at fixed and equal intervals, nature has ordained that birth and death should occur coincidentally with these periods;<sup>1</sup> and as the movement of the heavens is circular, the opposite motions of the elements in the terrestrial world also accomplish their kind of circle, inasmuch as each of them passes into all the others, and finally returns upon itself.<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle's *Meteorology* is occupied with the phenomena produced by the motion, reciprocal action and mixture of the elements.<sup>3</sup> He first<sup>4</sup> describes those which belong to the fiery circle; next<sup>5</sup> those of the lower portion of the atmosphere;<sup>6</sup> and finally<sup>7</sup> those

γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα συνέριτο τὸ εἶναι [in this way no gap will be left in nature] διὰ τὸ ἐγγύτατα εἶναι τῆς οὐσίας τὸ γίνεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν. *Ibid.* c. 11 *fin.*: perishable things complete the circle of their being ἀριθμῶ not εἶδει. Cf. also ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. p. 512.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* at 336, b, 9: ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ φθορὰ καὶ ἡ γένεσις ἡ κατὰ φύσιν. διὰ καὶ οἱ χρόνοι καὶ οἱ βλοὶ ἐκάστων ἀριθμῶν ἔχουσι καὶ τοῦτῳ διορίζονται· πάντων γὰρ ἐστὶ τάξις καὶ πᾶς βλος καὶ χρόνος μετρεῖται περιόδῳ, πλὴν οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ πάντες. Experience, moreover, is in harmony with this theory: ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι προσιώντος μὲν τοῦ ἡλίου γένεσις ἐστὶν, ἀπὸντος δὲ φθίσις, καὶ ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἐκάτερον. It is true that in many cases death takes place quicker. The reason of this, however, is to be found in the disproportionateness of the materials.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 337, a, 1, c, 11, 338, b, 3, 11 sqq.; cf. c. 4 (see p. 484,

*supra*), and on the circle of generation, *Phys.* iv. 14, 223, b, 23 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> The object of the treatise is set forth thus, in c. 1: ὅσα συμβαίνει κατὰ φύσιν μὲν, ἀτακτοτέραν μὲντοι τῆς τοῦ πρώτου στοιχείου τῶν σωμάτων, περὶ τὸν γειννόμενα μάλιστα τόπον τῇ φορᾷ τῶν ἄστρον, . . . ὅσα τε θείμεν ἂν ἀέρος εἶναι κοινὰ πάθη καὶ ὕδατος, ἔτι δὲ γῆς ὅσα εἶδη καὶ μέρη καὶ πάθη τῶν μερῶν. With these investigations ought to be connected the discussion of organic being (*ibid.* and iv. 12 *fin.*).

<sup>4</sup> *Meteor.* i. 3-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* i. 9-iii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> τόπος τῇ θέσει μὲν δεύτερος μετὰ τοῦτον [*i.e.* after the fiery circle], πρώτος δὲ περὶ τὴν γῆν; and again: τόπος κοινὸς ὕδατος τε καὶ ἀέρος, i. 9 *init.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 6, 378, a, 15 sqq. according to BELCHER'S reckoning, or iii. 7 according to that of IDELER.



which are exhibited within the sphere of the earth. The latter part of his treatise does not seem to have been finished. Aristotle appears, instead of continuing the work, to have composed the separate essay which now forms the fourth book of the *Meteorology* and which offers a proper point of transition to the science of animate existence in its discussion of topics which we should refer to the province of inorganic and organic chemistry.<sup>1</sup> In the first of these sections various phenomena, such as meteors and aerolites,<sup>2</sup> together with the Comets and the Galaxy, are explained to be collected masses of dry and inflammable vapours set on fire by the motion of the stars.<sup>3</sup> Comets are bodies of this vapour in a state of slow combustion, moving freely or in the train of a star.<sup>4</sup> Similar in kind is the Milky Way, its vaporous material being excreted and inflamed by the movement of the whole heaven.<sup>5</sup> In the lower portion of the atmosphere are observable all circumstances connected with the formation of the clouds. Under the influence of solar warmth the moisture on the surface of the earth evaporates. The rising mists cool themselves in the higher regions of the air, imparting a portion of their heat to the fiery

<sup>1</sup> See p. 83, n. 2, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Meteor.* i. 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 482, n. 4, 479, n. 4, 490, n. 3, and 509, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* c. 6-7, especially 344, a, 16 sqq. and c. 8, 345, b, 32 sqq. In harmony with the account of the nature of comets which he here gives, Aristotle endeavours (344, b, 18 sqq.) to explain those meteorological phenomena (*e.g.* ~~st-~~ drought) which they

were thought to forecast. On *Meteor.* i. 396 IDELER points out that Aristotle's account of comets held its ground among the most distinguished astronomers until the time of Newton.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* c. 8, esp. 346, b, 6 sqq. where the attempt is made to explain in detail, on the basis of this supposition, the form and appearance of the Milky Way.

Aristotle promises to give a fuller description of these bodies. But the fourth book, which is not properly connected with the others,<sup>1</sup> makes a new start. Taking the four elementary characteristics, and regarding warmth and cold as active, dryness and moisture as passive, principles,<sup>2</sup> Aristotle first considers the former and then the latter, in their several manifestations. From warmth and cold he derives generation on the one hand and corruption on the other<sup>3</sup>: generation, when these principles, being combined in due proportion and acting on the material substratum of a being, obtain complete ascendancy over its substance<sup>4</sup>; corruption, when the warmth peculiar to the moist elements of a being is withdrawn by some external heat, and consequently form and distinctness are destroyed.<sup>5</sup>

Among phenomena of a similar description, but not involving generation or destruction, may be reckoned digestion, ripening, boiling, roasting, &c.<sup>6</sup> Of the two

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 513, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 480, n. 3, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Meteor.* iv. 1, 378, b, 28: πρώτων μὲν οὖν καθόλου ἡ ἀπλὴ γένεσις καὶ ἡ φυσικὴ μεταβολὴ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων ἐστὶν ἔργον καὶ ἡ ἀντικειμένη φθορὰ κατὰ φύσιν.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* l. 31: ἔστι δ' ἡ ἀπλὴ καὶ φυσικὴ γένεσις μεταβολὴ ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων, ὅταν ἔχωσι λόγον, ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὕλης ἐκάστη φύσει· αὐταὶ δ' [ὕλη] εἰσὶν αἱ εἰρημέναι δυνάμεις παθητικά· γεννώσι δὲ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν κρατοῦντα τῆς ὕλης.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 379, a, 2: ὅταν δὲ μὴ κρατῇ, κατὰ μέρος μὲν μώλυσις καὶ ἀπεψία γίνεται, τῇ δ' ἀπλῇ γενέσει ἐναντίον μάλιστα κοινὸν σῆψις.

πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν φθορὰ εἰς τοῦθ' ὁδὸς ἐστίν. L. 16: σῆψις δ' ἐστὶ φθορὰ τῆς ἐν ἐκάστῳ ὑγρῇ οἰκείας καὶ κατὰ φύσιν θερμότητος ὑπ' ἀλλοτρίας θερμότητος· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ περιέχοντος. Corruption may also be described as the joint effect of ψυχρότης οἰκεία, and θερμότης ἀλλοτρία. Moisture, however, is (acc. to l. 8 sqq.) a necessary means, all generation being the result of the action of moisture (which is εὐόριστος; see p. 480, n. 2, *supra*) upon dryness in obedience to the efficient force of nature; destruction begins ὅταν κρατῇ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος τὸ ὀριζόμενον διὰ τὸ περιέχον.

<sup>6</sup> πέψις, πέπανσις, ἔψις, ὀπτησις



to describe their qualities and composition,<sup>1</sup> passing to the detailed discussion of living beings with the remark that homogeneous bodies serve as the matter of heterogeneous ones, and that the designs of nature are more clearly exhibited in the latter than in the former.<sup>2</sup> In fact, however, everything which we find scattered over the later writings about the objects of sense-perception, light, colour, sound, smell, &c., belongs to that portion of physics which is treated of in the *Meteorology*. We cannot therefore here do more than refer to these suggestions,<sup>3</sup>

δλον τοῖς μορίοις ὁμοειδές, *Part. An.* ii. 9, 655, b, 21, where *ὁμοιομερῆ* is explained by *συνώνυμα τοῖς δλοῖς τὰ μέρη*; cf. the *Ind. Arist.* under the word. According to PHILOP. Aristotle distinguished in his *Eudemus* between elementary homogeneous and organic bodies. In a quotation from this dialogue occur the words (*Ar. Fr.* 1482, a, 10, cf. p. 482, *supra*): *ἀσυνμετρία ἐστὶ τῶν στοιχείων ἡ νόσος . . . τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν ἡ ἀσθένεια . . . τῶν ὁργανικῶν τὸ ἀσχος*; they are perhaps, however, only inserted by the reporter by way of explanation.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* c. 8–11. Caps. 8 and 9 treat especially of stiffening by heat and cold; of melting by heat and moisture; of softening, bending, extending; of breaking, bruising, splitting, &c.; caps. 10 and 11 treat of the constituent elements of homogeneous bodies and the properties by which they may be known. For a fuller account of Aristotle's treatment of the latter subject see MEYER, *Arist. Thierkunde*, 416 sqq. 477.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle gives the following account of Light, *De An.* ii. 7,

418, b, 3 sqq.; *De Sensu*, c. 3, 439, a, 18 sqq.: transparency is a common property (*κοινὴ φύσις καὶ δύναμις*) of many bodies with whose other properties it is inseparably united (*οὐ χωριστή*). That which gives actuality to this property (*ἡ τοῦτου ἐνέργεια τοῦ διαφανοῦς ἢ διαφανές—ἡ ἐντελέχεια τοῦ διαφανοῦς*, 418, b, 9, 419, a, 10) and as it were colour to the transparent object is light, which again is caused by fire or æther (*ἐκ πυρὸς ἢ τοιοῦτου ὁλον τὸ ἄνω σῶμα*), and may therefore be defined as *πυρὸς ἢ τοιοῦτου τινὸς παρουσία ἐν τῷ διαφανεί*. At the same time he controverts (*De An.* 418, b, 20; *De Sensu*, c. 6, 446, a, 25 sqq.) the view of Empedocles that light is motion passing from heaven to earth, on the ground of the immense distance at which we see it. Light, to Aristotle, is the effect of motion (see 468 sq. *supra*), but is not *per se* a motion, but rather a definite state which is produced in a body as a whole in consequence of a qualitative change (*ἀλλοίωσις*) such as freezing (*De Sensu*, c. 6, 446, b, 27 sqq.) It is asserted at the same time that vision is the

as it will be now necessary to pass at once, in the next volume, to Aristotle's observations and conclusions as to Organic Nature.

result of a motion which passes from an object to the eye through the transparent medium (*De An.* ii. 7, 419, a, 9, 13, iii. 1, 424, b, 29, c. 12, 435, a, 5; *De Sensu*, 2, 438, b, 3).—That, he says, which by its presence causes light, by its absence darkness, is also that which on the border of transparent things produces Colour. For colour resides only on the surface of bodies, and belongs, therefore, only to those which have definite limits: as light is said to be *ἐν ἀόριστῳ τῷ διαφανεί* (*De Sensu*, c. 3, 439, a, 26), so colour is defined (*ibid.* 439, b, 11) as *τὸ τοῦ διαφανοῦς ἐν σώματι ὁρισμένον πέρας*. White and black correspond on the surface of bodies to light and darkness (439, b, 16), and from these two primary colours come all the others, not merely by the mechanical confusion of their atomic elements, nor by the shining of one through the other, but also by a real process of mixture, such as is described at p. 420. If they are mixed in simple numerical proportion, we have pure colours; if otherwise, impure. Inclusive of black and white, Aristotle enumerates in all seven primary colours (*ibid.* 439, b, 18 to the end of the chapter, and also c. 6, 445, b, 20 sqq., and c. 4, 442, a, 19 sqq. Cf. *De An.* ii. 7 *init.*; *ibid.* 419, a, 1 sqq.; *Meteor.* iii. 4, 373, b, 32 sqq., i. 5, 342, b, 4). The treatise upon colour starts from somewhat different premisses; *vide* PRANTL, who treats Aristotle's doctrine of colour from different

points of view in the most exhaustive manner, pp. 86–159, as also BÄUMKER, *Arist. Lehre v. d. Sinnesvermögen* (1877), p. 21 sqq.—Sound is said to be motion caused by the concussion of hard bodies and transmitting itself through the medium of the air. It was to describe this idea of the sound-medium that Theophrastus and other Peripatetics invented the word *σηχης*, formed upon the analogy of *διαφανης*, just as in like manner they invented *δυσμος* to describe the medium by which smell is transmitted, PHILOP. *De An.* L, 4; cf. *ibid.* M, 8, o. 10, o. Those notes are high which make a forcible impression on the ear in a brief time, *i.e.* quick notes; those on the other hand are deep which take a longer time to produce a weak impression, *i.e.* slow ones (*De An.* ii. 8, 419, b, 4 420, b, 5). Bodies which are fastened into others and carried round by them as the stars are, produce no sound by their motion (*De Caelo*, ii. 9, 291, a, 9 sqq.). Smell is held to be caused by dry materials which are dissolved in moisture, *i.e.* in water or air (*ἔγχυστος ἔχρησεν*, 443, a, 1, b, 4; note that the earlier and provisional description of *ἀσπύς* as *καπνῶδης ἀναθυμίασις*, *De Sensu*, 2, 438, b, 24, is rejected, *ibid.* c. 5, 443, a, 21). This is how they become objects to the sense (*De Sensu*, c. 5, 442, b, 27 443, b, 16; *De An.* ii. 9, 421, a, 26 sqq., 422, a, 6; cf. BÄUMKER, 28 sqq.). In the same way Taste is the effect of the union of dry or earthy material

with moisture, which, however, in this case is not that of water and air, as in the case of smell, but of water alone. The object of the sense of taste is *χυμός*: *χυμός* again is defined as τὸ γηγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου ξηροῦ [viz. τοῦ τροφίμου ξηροῦ] πάθος ἐν τῷ ὄργῳ, τῆς γεύσεως τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλοιωτικῶν εἰς ἐνέργειαν [i.e. which causes our sense or faculty of taste actually to feel a sensation. 441. b, 19], τοῦ τροφίμου ξηροῦ πάθος ἢ στέρησις (*ibid.* l. 24). As all colours are a mixture of white and black, so all tastes (λίπαρον and ἄλμυρον, δριμὺν and αὐστηρὸν, στρυφνὸν and ὀξύ) are a mixture of sweet and bitter; if these elements are mingled in a certain proportion we have pleasant tastes; otherwise, unpleasant ones (*De Sensu*, c. 4; *De An.* ii. 10, BÄUMK. 32 sq.). In this way

the law discovered by the Pythagoreans which declared that the harmony and discord of sounds depended upon certain numerical relations is considered also to apply, not only to colours, but to tastes (*χυμός*). *De Sensu*, 4, 442, a, 19 sqq. c. 7, 448, a, 15. Aristotle compares seven principal tastes to the seven primary colours. Further investigations into the nature of *χυμός* he reserves (*De Sensu*, c. 4 fin.) for the *φυσιολογία περὶ τῶν φυτῶν*. Upon the treatise attributed to him *π. χυμῶν*, see p. 84, n. 1.—The sense of Touch has for its object all those general qualities of bodies (*De An.* ii. 11, 422, b, 25, 423, b, 26), which are ultimately resolvable into terms of the elementary oppositions referred to on p. 479, *supra*, and do not, therefore, call for further special notice here.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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